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HENRY CALLAWAY M.D. D.D.



# HENRY CALLAWAY

M.D., D.D.

## FIRST BISHOP FOR KAFFRARIA

*HIS LIFE-HISTORY AND WORK*

## A MEMOIR

BY

MARIAN S. BENHAM

EDITED BY

THE REV. CANON BENHAM

AUTHOR OF "CATHERINE AND CRAUFURD TAIT," &C., AND JOINT-AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP TAIT"

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# EDITOR'S PREFACE

In submitting this volume to the judgment of the reader as a valuable contribution to Missionary history, I hope I shall not be considered blinded by prejudice because the writer is my daughter. When the materials were entrusted to me some few years ago I was in hopes of being able to write the book myself, but I found that I had so much work on hand that I was obliged to relinquish the idea, and am now very glad that I did so, for my daughter has made it a labour of love to follow up every clue, and read everything which she could find bearing on her subject.

She desires me to express her grateful thanks to Prebendary Tucker and Mr. Pascoe, of the S.P.G., for their great kindness in giving her access to all the original letters of the Bishop in the possession of the Society; and the latter gentleman's Digest of the work of the Society has been a rich mine of information to her.

I believe this present book to have a twofold interest. First it shows us the mental struggles of a thoughtful, earnest man, so eager for God's truth that he was

ready to make any sacrifice to find it. Such men must always be lights in the world, even when we cannot see eye to eye with them. But further, Callaway's work throws a bright and clear light upon that difficult and at present most important subject, the methods to be pursued for the evangelisation of the world. His heart was in his work with a grand, unselfish earnestness, and whatever were his perplexities or his mistakes, they were those of a man who sought first, not his own advantage or advancement, but the Kingdom of the Redeemer.

I knew as a dear friend Samuel Clark, the Quaker whom Maurice had prominently in his mind when he wrote his *Kingdom of Christ*. His struggles into the light were very similar to those of Henry Callaway, and when Edmund Venables lent Maurice's book to Callaway, the latter found to his great joy that he had worked his own way, on independent lines, to the whole of the essential conclusions of it. Clark's name does not appear in this Memoir ; whether they ever met and compared notes on their conversion I have now no means of ascertaining. In each of the two cases the conversion was a call to work, faithfully obeyed. The interest of the following volume deepens as we are told how Callaway, returning to the Church he had deserted, felt a summons to give his life to labour in the Mission vineyard, and "was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision."

The problems which he had to face on reaching heathen Africa were such as have bewildered many others. He brought to them a calm judgment, extraordinary powers of labour—though he was always a delicate man—acuteness of observation, and above all a large heart. How he sometimes failed, but on the whole succeeded, these pages tell. If, in spite of his difficulties and disappointments the results of his labours had not been such as to encourage those who come after, the record would hardly have been worth the writing.

Difficulties formidable enough beset the path of every missionary who, like Callaway, has to break new ground. But his difficulties were increased past the telling by a special trouble, namely, the fierce controversy which arose about Bishop Colenso's writings, just when unanimity was needed so sorely. His calmness of judgment happily stood him in good stead here also, but it was a very serious hindrance to his work to be dragged into the conflict.

That controversy caused more bitterness and angry words than any other that has occurred within my recollection. But it has so far subsided that men have already learned that many hard words might have been spared on both sides. To say that the leaders made great mistakes is no detriment to the memory of good men; it is only saying that they were human. The most ardent partisan of Bishop

Colenso will hardly repudiate the touching eulogium which he passed on the zeal and piety of his opponent, Bishop Gray, on his death ; nor will those who regard Colenso's writings with aversion, but who know anything of his uncompromising endeavours for justice for the poor blacks, read the tender and generous words of Dean Green (Bishop Gray's chief supporter in Natal), after Colenso's death, without unstinted sympathy.

It will be rightly said, however, that the recognition of what was good, noble, truly Christian in these men, though a fact that we can all rejoice in, leaves the subject of the controversy in which they were engaged untouched. This is quite true ; and we have unwillingly to go back to that controversy, and form our judgment upon it. That Bishop Colenso said many things that were true, many of the younger generation of clergy have come now to believe. That he said those things in an abrupt, startling, even offensive manner, is also the conviction of still more ; as it is also that other of his utterances were rash and dangerous, and unbecoming a bishop. And probably there are very few men who have studied what is called the Capetown judgment, that is, the elaborate condemnation which Bishop Gray pronounced upon Colenso preparatory to declaring him deposed, who will undertake to defend it point by point. Bishop Gray was a hard worker, but not a trained theologian; the questions raised by his brother bishop were new

and strange to him ; he had no precedents to guide him ; is it any wonder that he was bewildered, and found himself in difficulties, from which he did not always emerge successfully ? There are generally two sorts of people who become prominent when controversies arise. The first are those who, being dragged in, do the best in their power to solve the difficulties, grappling courageously with them ; and the second class are those who loftily criticise and point out the blunders, while they have not put out one of their fingers to help. To the first class Bishop Gray belonged. He pronounced boldly on questions which more learned scholars and theologians treat with wariness as insoluble mysteries ; and he claimed powers which in the opinion of the majority of Churchmen did not really belong to him. I was Vicar of Addington during the acutest moment of the conflict, namely, at the time when Archbishop Longley had invited the Bishops in communion with the Anglican Church all over the world to the brotherly consultation known as the First Lambeth Conference ; and I was witness of the Archbishop's anxiety, mainly caused by the Bishop of Capetown's determination to force that Conference to ratify the course that he had taken. The Archbishop, with the grace and gentleness which marked him above any man I have ever met, firmly refused to have the case discussed ; and though there is no doubt whatever that the sympathy for Bishop

Gray was unanimous, it was a relief to the whole body to feel that Longley had steered the vessel wisely in the course he took. But I have always felt that this worry shortened his life.

Dr. Callaway took what I venture to call the moderate and calm view. He had found reason to differ from Bishop Colenso even before the publication of his books. I need not here state again what will be found in the life about his serious objection to what at first sight may seem a trifle, namely, Colenso's choice of the Zulu word to express the name of God. Callaway thought it a dangerous approximation to Arianism. He was still more grieved at the Bishop's translation of *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.* If it was not Arianism, it would be very difficult for plain people to distinguish between them. But he felt that this called upon him to be the more cautious lest, in striving for the Catholic faith, he should be led to commit himself to the untenable positions which Bishop Gray's judgment had taken on certain points. Discrimination was as needful as zeal ; and he had a strong conviction that Bishop Gray's claims of jurisdiction were not tenable.

And yet, as will be seen, after some hesitation he acquiesced in the Bishop of Capetown's judgment so far, that when the latter consecrated Bishop Macrorie, Callaway gave in his adhesion to him. And if it be said that he did so on selfish grounds, to preserve his

position, the answer is obvious—his whole self-devoted career contradicts the insinuation.

It must be remembered that the complication was not at an end when Dr. Macrorie was consecrated as Bishop of Pietermaritzburg. It was not merely that there were now two rival bishops, inasmuch as the Privy Council had declared Colenso's deposition to be null and void. The schism, so Bishop Colenso's partisans declare now, would have died a natural death had not Bishop Gray framed and carried a new constitution for "the Church of South Africa," in which the English law was repudiated, and they bound themselves not to be under Privy Council judgments. That was a course which Callaway deeply regretted; but he felt himself bound to accept it, rather than let the strife go on. And here again, while some think he should have held out, the majority of Churchmen probably share both the regret and the conviction that he took the only practical course. They feel that though it would have been really much better if the South African Churchmen had continued to cast in their lot with the mother Church at home, and though no hardship would have followed if they had done so; yet, as the step was taken by the majority, it was better for the rest to acquiesce, and to trust that the public opinion of the Church would go on being guided by the grace of God, and the unity with the mother Church would remain unbroken. This was

the line, at any rate, which Callaway took, and everything since seems to indicate that it was "the best working hypothesis."

That is a poor and weak faith which refuses to believe that the Providence of God, which has guided the Church through so many dangers and difficulties until now, will do so more and more unto the perfect day. Let me venture to trust that the following record of a noble and unselfish life may kindle fresh interest in the welfare of a Church which has a bright future before it. Joyous and sorrowful tidings come mingled from across the sea. One bishop goes forth in hope, and has hardly reached his post before a sudden accident takes him away. Another, of tried zeal and holiness, pushes forward for the first time into Mashonaland. The poor blacks are being lifted out of their ignorance and are learning—alas! it was not always thus—that the English are their friends, not their foes. And whatever the Christian world may think of Colenso's theology, friends and foes join in pronouncing that he acted as a faithful Christian when he became the defender of the poor savage men against oppression. No heartier supporter of him in this could there be than Callaway. The good that he did lives after him, let the rest be interred with his bones.

W. BENHAM.

# PREFACE

THE materials from which the following Memoir is compiled are of three kinds:—

(1) Henry Callaway's private journals, voluminous during the early part of his life, but growing scantier as mission work in all its branches occupied his time more fully.

(2) His letters from South Africa to friends in England. The greater number of these are addressed to his most intimate and life-long friend, Mr. Cornelius Hanbury.

(3) Notices of his life and work, collected from the publications of the S.P.G. and other societies, and from local South African papers.

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# HENRY CALLAWAY

## CHAPTER I

Birth and education—Early call to the ministry—Joins the Society of Friends—Enters on the study of medicine—Establishes a practice and marries—Illness.

HENRY CALLAWAY'S journals date from 1834 (he was then seventeen years of age), and he prefixed to them an autobiography, from which we learn the chief facts of his parentage and boyhood. His father had been a bootmaker, following the calling of his forefathers; but he had had a fair education, and, finding that the profits to be gained by his trade did not keep pace with the needs of an increasing family, he left his home in Somersetshire and settled at Lymington as an exciseman. Here the eleventh child, Henry, was born on the 17th of January, 1817. They moved shortly afterwards to Southampton, thence to London, and finally Mr. Callaway was appointed supervisor at Crediton, and settled there with his wife and six children (the others having died early), on an income of £200 a year.

Henry seems to have inherited from both parents the qualities which raised him from these humble surroundings. He says of his father, that "the natural strength and superiority of his mind appeared to raise him quite above those with whom he associated;" and of his mother, a farmer's daughter from Minehead, that "she was a bright, clever woman, most tenderly attached to her husband and children." They were members of the Church of England, and brought up their children carefully, but gave them little religious instruction. The only teaching of the kind which he received at this period was from the mother of one of his schoolfellows; and he speaks afterwards (from a Quaker standpoint) of the "ceremony of Confirmation, as it is called," as having awakened serious thoughts, and formed a starting-point in his career.

At Crediton Grammar School, under Dr. Lightfoot, he received the rudiments of a sound classical education, and made such good progress that at the age of sixteen (May 1833) he went to Heavitree as assistant-teacher in a small school. The head-master, William Dymond by name, was a Quaker; an earnest, conscientious man, who at once gained the boy's affection, and without apparently using any direct influence was doubtless the first to draw his attention closely to the views of the Society of Friends.

Meanwhile he tells how, in reading of the labourers sent into Christ's vineyard, there had come to him "a clear and indubitable call to the ministry," which henceforth became the motive power of his life. The

difficulties to be surmounted were, as will be seen, great and manifold ; but at no time was this object put out of view, and even when the course of his life seemed to lead him further away from his purpose, he was undergoing a training of incalculable value to his after-life.

At first the way seemed clear enough. "From that time," he says, "I read more on serious subjects, looked deeper into doctrine, paid more attention to sermons that I might catch the style, and employed myself in English composition, for I had no other view than that of becoming a minister of the Church of England."

But doubts were already beginning to arise in his mind as to the sacramental nature of the Lord's Supper and the efficacy of written prayers and sermons. He was leaning towards the Quaker belief in "direct revelation" as the only means of guidance, and his conviction of the immediate call sent to himself had perhaps strengthened the idea. Other troubles darkened the summer of 1834 ; William Dymond was obliged by ill-health to give up his school, and the heavy work which thus devolved upon Callaway brought on two severe attacks of illness. The new master was beyond his predecessor in education, but his influence was not so good ; and while his help was of great value to the assistant in his preparation for the college career he was hoping for, there was lacking the sympathy and experience which had drawn him to William Dymond for help in questions of religion. Restless and dissatisfied—tempted also, as he tells us,

by curiosity—the young man turned his thoughts to the Society to which his friend belonged. In the quietude and devotion which pervaded the Exeter meeting-house he believed he had found the rest which he had been seeking.

Many years later he writes: "I find it difficult to determine what was the true cause which brought me among Friends. Subsequent occurrences induce me to believe that it was God's Spirit, who by a constraining influence which I could not oppose was leading me on by a way that I knew not to a place and service in His Church; but I believe there was a great mixture of feeling, and it is no wonder if in now recurring to that time I see many things too hastily adopted, and many things too readily parted with. . . . No worldly motives had any influence on my determination; indeed, worldly interests and friendships appeared to be quite in the other direction. . . . My relations were much opposed to any change in my views. . . .

"There was one grand bond of union between Friends and myself, the belief in the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit in His Church; and afterwards, upon examination, I found that in many things in which I thought my views peculiar, Friends held similar opinions. That the Christian religion was essentially practical in its genius, and destined to bring about a new creation by regenerating the soul, and that God's love in Christ Jesus was universal and unbounded by race or clime, were strongly fixed as truths in my mind.

"My studies were pretty much laid aside, and my attention almost exclusively given up to religious subjects, and the perusal of Friends' books. . . . . I was particularly pleased with the close reasoning of Robert Barclay, which set my mind for a time very much at rest as to doctrines."

The winter vacation of 1834–5, spent as usual at Crediton, was not a happy one, for his friends naturally used all their influence to induce him to give up his new notions, and put obstacles in the way of his attending meetings at Exeter, eight miles away. But, as he said himself, they did not understand the depth of the impressions which his mind had received, and he walked the sixteen miles every Sunday, comforting himself with the belief that he was being called upon to suffer for righteousness' sake.

In consequence of the decline of the school it was decided that he was not to return to Heavitree, and in the early spring of 1835 he went to Wellington as private tutor in a Quaker family, with whom, though he had not yet formally joined the Society, he began to use the "plain language of Friends."

Upon his next visit to Crediton in the autumn of 1835, Henry found that his family had somewhat changed their minds as regarded his religious views, and his favourite sister, Mary Ann, was disposed to follow him. These two were deeply attached to each other, united by similarity of mind and temperament; but the brother's seriousness was exaggerated in the sister to a kind of religious melancholy, which her

brother's absence, and the lack of sympathy at home, probably tended to increase.

Henry never saw his mother again after this vacation; he was summoned home on account of her illness early in 1836, but arrived too late to see her alive. Her death was the first that had ever deeply touched him, and there was an added regret in the remembrance that his change of opinions had made—not an estrangement, the mother and son were too devoted to each other to make that possible—but a strain on the bond of perfect sympathy between them.

The year that followed was a very dark one. Henry still delayed to take the final step which should sever him from communion with the Church of England, and it was not till the spring of 1837 that he was formally admitted into membership of the Society of Friends. But the peace he sought for was not found; on the contrary, he was beset on all sides by difficulties where he had looked for clear guidance, and the doctrines of the Society forbade him to believe that such difficulties might be part of the very help he needed, sent to lead him "by ways that he knew not" into the right path. He waited at meetings for the Holy Spirit to direct him—sometimes felt himself called upon to speak, and doubted whether the call was a real one; and often when he had yielded to what he believed was a Divine inspiration he was so troubled, either in success or failure, by his own self-consciousness, as to doubt whether after all he had been doing right. His sensitive temperament was an in-

cessant trouble to him through all his Quaker days. But the pain he suffered showed that the desire for holiness was real and earnest, and his faith in God remained firm when he believed himself to be cast away from His presence. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

At the same time Callaway was troubled by the low state to which Quakerism had fallen in Wellington; he could not reconcile either the tenets or the conduct of its members with the writings of its founders, and when later on it appeared that there was the same discrepancy in other branches of the Society, new doubts and questionings arose and would not be laid to rest. Meanwhile he began to have scruples as to the teaching of "immoral" Greek and Latin authors. In a memoir of the Quaker James Parnell, compiled by him in 1846, he writes (quoting from Parnell's journals), "His wicked natural propensities were nourished by the education he received, so that whilst at school and after leaving it the same depravity of heart remained, and he continued to follow the vanities of the world." How far Parnell's undoubted genius and strength of character were due to his "carnal education," was a question that would never for an instant have occurred to the writer. It was fortunate that Callaway had worked industriously at his own classical studies before they were cut short by religious scruples; as it was they were apparently the cause of his giving up his situation at Wellington, and entering, not without much hesitation and searching of heart, on a new line of life. He became (in July 1837)

assistant to a chemist and druggist at Bridgwater, and thus began the study of medicine which proved of such incalculable value to him in after life. He himself regarded the business only as a means whereby he might be enabled to achieve the desire of his heart, and become a minister of the Church. He could not foresee that it would not only accomplish this for him, but would be the means of perhaps trebling the value of that ministry. In the meantime the work gave him constant occupation, and turned his thoughts into a more healthy channel, by making him think of other matters than his own shortcomings. At the time, however, the want of leisure for meditation was a sore trouble to him, and whenever he had time to make an entry in his journal, it is the same record of failure, dejection, "falling off from grace."

In April 1839 he entered, by the advice of Mr. Cornelius Hanbury, the service of a chemist at Southampton. Though his new employer was also a Quaker, he was not in the habit of using the "plain language" in addressing customers, and it was a sore trial to his assistant to be obliged to violate his principles by conforming to the general usage.

It was a satisfaction when he received an offer from a former acquaintance, E. C. May, to live with him at Tottenham in the capacity of surgeon's assistant. He left Southampton accordingly, and took the opportunity of spending a short time at Crediton. It was a very happy visit after so long an absence, and he was especially glad to be able to cheer his favourite

sister, who had had a lonely life since her mother's death. It was the last time he ever saw her. Two months later he received the news of her death.

Henry had formed high hopes of his future at Tottenham, and especially of the help he would gain from the Quaker ministry there. Here he was destined to disappointment—neither in doctrine nor in eloquence could he trace the true inspiration he sought, and he fell back again into the sorrowful belief that God was at least for a time abandoning His own Church on account of the sinfulness of its members. In later years when he had taken a wider view of life and religion he took, it may be, a somewhat more unfavourable view of the Quaker tenets than he would have done had he read more of their later writings. He thought that they "did not accept the Atonement, or at least did not put it in the right place, nor believe in the Trinity," that they "put the Spirit above the Saviour, and so Jesus Christ is not honoured," and that "though they accept the Scriptures as coming from God, they give a key of interpretation which in many respects entirely closes them to the understanding." This may be a perfectly legitimate induction from the writings of some of the community, but there are others who would fairly repudiate the views thus attributed to them.

There is little mention, in the journals of this date, of his daily life and occupations; in spite of constant regrets for the deadness of his heart to spiritual matters, his journals have space for little else. Hitherto he had received no salary, and even now

his earnings were quite insufficient for his needs, but it seems that wealthier friends came forward to help the intelligent and promising young student. He looked forward to completing his medical training at the London hospitals, if means and opportunity could be found ; but, knowing the temptations that surround such a life, he trusted in God to frustrate the hope if it should be likely to hinder the efficiency of ministerial work. He dreaded entering on this calling without the needful qualification—"Although I consider a Gospel minister [called to] the highest office with which a human creature can be dignified, yet I would rather never open my mouth than speak for Him without a commission. . . . If I am not called, I shall have hereafter to rest heavily under condemnation as being a liar before God. But if I am called and refuse to go, if I turn away from His commandments, will not the heaviest of all charges come against me? will not the blood of souls be required at my hands?"

Thus he lived in perpetual self-torment, measuring his spiritual growth by the warmth of his feelings, and unable to see that uncertain health and frequent over-work were the chief causes of failure. Bright gleams of happiness were not altogether wanting, for in spite of the press of work he found time for occasional intercourse with other members of the Society with whom he was in sympathy, and who evidently looked up to him as on a higher plane than themselves. There are numerous letters on theological subjects written about this period at the

request of his friends, showing in what esteem his opinion was held by the Society. They show a considerable power of thought and logical reasoning, overweighted at times by the bias of Quakerism so as to lead to hasty and wrong conclusions. Narrowed as his mind had become by the habit of looking at everything from one point of view, he was too apt to ignore the value of the opinions of others, even of members of his own religion, when they were in opposition to his own. That his kindness of heart was victorious over narrow-mindedness is evident from a letter to a fellow-student, who, after a good beginning, had fallen into evil ways, to his friends' great sorrow and disappointment. There is a tone of hopefulness in the letter, very different from the despondency with which Callaway regarded his own shortcomings as originating in an inherent evil which tended to separate him from God. Again, in the case of a man who holds what he deems heretical doctrines, he writes in his journal, with a tolerance one would not have looked for in these early years:—"Harassed by the thoughts of the multiplied divisions of the Christian Church, I was comforted by being able to look forward to the time when all divisions shall cease—when none will be anxious to establish the fact of his being of Paul, Apollos, or Cephas, but rejoice in being *in Christ*. In very many instances our differences consist only in a varied pronunciation of our *Shibboleth*. So that I feel willing to give cordially a right hand of fellowship to all who really love the Lord Jesus Christ, and

manifest by their fruit that He is alive in them and that they are alive unto Him. This view appears not incompatible with a firm and consistent maintenance of our own views of Christian Truth." He occupied himself a good deal with literary work at this time, sending contributions, chiefly of a controversial nature, to the *Irish Friend.*

Early in 1841 Callaway began studying at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and notwithstanding qualms of conscience which troubled him as to the advisability of exposing himself to temptation, he fortunately held to his post. Among the many enduring friendships made at this time may be mentioned those with Dr. (afterwards Sir George) Burrows, and with Mr. (afterward Sir James) Paget. Two examinations which he passed—the Royal College of Surgeons, in July, 1842, and the Apothecaries' Hall, April, 1844—were in each case followed by severe illness, brought on by over-work and anxiety—a warning, verified in later years, of considerable delicacy of constitution.

He was now fully qualified to practise; but ill-health, and the doubt which haunted him as to the genuineness of his vocation, combined to delay for some little time the taking up of definite work. Left alone by the breaking up of the old home, there was no one of his own people who could advise or encourage him. "Others had homes or relatives," he says, "I was homeless." He waited in expectation of some direct call, and was grieved and depressed that no such revelation was vouchsafed to him. Throughout the years of studentship he had felt

satisfied that he was doing right, since the means had been provided for him ; and he believed that he was in this manner preparing himself for work in the Church. The idea of eventually maintaining himself by medicine never entered his head. But a definite course of action had now to be decided upon, and there were difficulties which made him loth to continue in his transitional state of "preparation." To take up medicine as a profession would necessitate borrowing capital to buy a practice, unless he determined to devote all his time and energy to making one for himself—a course which he feared might turn him aside from the life-work he had set before him.

As however there seemed at present no other way open, he decided on the latter course. He took rooms in Bishopsgate Street in the summer of 1844, and in a short time succeeded in making a fair practice, which extended itself steadily and rapidly as time went on. Success in worldly matters never caused him much satisfaction so long as he had only himself to provide for ; he was always afraid that he might thereby be drawn away from the desire for higher things ; but not long after this he met and became attached to Ann Chalk, another member of the Society, and thus furnished himself with a new motive for exertion. The wedding took place on the 14th of October, 1845. His journal contains an account of the curious ceremony, the silence of the little meeting broken only by occasional prayers and addresses from the surrounding friends.

In addition to his private practice, Callaway now held posts at the Red Lion Square (now Soho Square), Hospital, St. Bartholomew's, and the Farringdon Dispensary. There were plenty of opportunities in such a life—especially to a man so deeply impressed with the sense of a clear vocation—for giving help to his fellow-creatures in other ways than by healing their bodies ; but Callaway never seems to have divested himself of the belief that his profession was a snare to him, and that he was allowed to hold it only on probation. A new interest had lately come into his life, in the care and friendship of a young apprentice, Cornelius Hanbury, junior—a friendship which was destined to grow and ripen through all time, absence, and change. About 1848 he took a house in Finsbury Circus, and here they lived for four years.

An entry in his journal, May 12th, 1849, is of considerable significance viewed by the light of later events. He wrote at length a statement of his faith, and of doubts which were constantly assailing him as to the doctrines and constitution of the Quaker sect ; but the passage is scratched out so as to be in parts quite illegible, and some pages are cut out altogether. He regarded such doubts as the symptoms of a diseased mind and morals, excusable in a measure because caused by the strain of work under which he had been living, but which must nevertheless be eradicated at any cost. It was not long before they had to be faced and honestly dealt with, but for the present he believed them to be con-

quered, and when, in November 1849, he was "recorded as a minister in unity," he had no qualms of conscience about accepting the call except such as arose from a sense of his own unworthiness.

"10*th month*, 1849. How do I long to become a preacher of righteousness not only in words but in daily life and conversation! . . . What are the duties of the minister of a Christian people? His is the office of an under-shepherd, appointed by his Divine Master to feed the flock, and to lead them through His aid and in accordance with His directions to right places of pasture. . . . I have earnestly longed to be a faithful minister to [the congregation of Friends], one who shall declare unto them, in demonstration of the Spirit and with power, the *whole counsel of God*, without addition and without diminution. What are the opinions of men compared with the truth of God? I long to seek this truth only—to have my mind simply open to receive it—to be held back from all narrow and sectarian feeling—to be prepared to embrace all true Christians with the open arms of Christian charity."

In July, 1850, prompted by an inward call, he offered to the Society his services in visiting the meetings and individual members in Devon and Cornwall. The offer was accepted and the journey taken accordingly; but when it was over, Callaway fell back into the old perplexity as to whether the call had been a Divine one, or whether it had been prompted by self-love, and would therefore bring evil consequences on himself and, far worse, on his hearers.

Two children were born to him, the first of whom died within a few hours of birth. The second came in April, 1850, and there seemed to be every hope that he might live. The short-lived hope only made the sorrow deeper when within a month illness came, and this child also, which proved to be the last, was taken away from them. The parents' faith remained unshaken, but this grief, combined with overwork and mental anxiety, undermined Callaway's own health, and the short entries in his journal during the months that followed tell of struggles against bodily weakness and mental trouble. In the autumn of 1851, symptoms of phthisis showed themselves; the doctors regarded the case with grave anxiety, and he himself fully believed that his life's work was ended. Brought thus face to face with the near possibility of death, he once more set himself to consider seriously the state of his mind with regard to religion. The result arrived at may be quoted from a written statement made by him in August, 1852.

"When about seventeen or eighteen, I fell among Friends; and whilst before that time, with a firm belief in the necessity of having the Holy Spirit's assistance to make me an able minister of the Gospel, I had been most diligent in cultivating my intellectual faculties by the study of languages and mathematics. . . . I now took up Friends' more narrow view as to the work of the ministry, for narrower I verily believe it is. . . . These years were not passed in an unwavering belief in the soundness of the body of Christians to which I had attached myself. . . . But when the doctrines did

not accord with what I believed was revealed by God, I felt more and more doubt, not of the principle, but of the authority of those who professed to be actuated by it.

"Believing that Barclay had stated the truth according to the Gospel, I had no other idea but that of labouring in an outward calling whilst also engaged in the ministry; but my chief view in studying medicine was that it was intended to aid me in the work of a missionary in Africa. . . . I completed my studies, commenced practice, married. Yet in spite of these steps I had still in view the ultimate object for which I had entered the profession. . . .

"When the words of the Apostle to his young minister, 'Give thyself wholly to these things,' was presented to my mind as my duty, how, with the constitution of the Society of Friends, was it possible for me to obey? I sat still in expectation that God would provide for my having a maintenance, which the Society to which I had united myself did not allow its ministers.

"This has not been provided; and when hope deferred had made the heart sick—when I found that an increasing practice more and more engrossed my time—when I feared that I might utterly fall away, and that my preservation was almost a miracle of grace, I laid aside the opinions of men, and carefully collected all the passages in the New Testament which alluded to the subject of the maintenance of ministers; and came to the conclusion without the shadow of a doubt that God has ordained that they who preach the

Gospel shall live of the Gospel! And whilst still believing that each believer in Jesus Christ forms one of the priesthood, is in reality a priest, Jesus Christ Himself being the High Priest, yet I felt persuaded that it was in accordance with God's will that a body of men should be set apart from all worldly occupations, for the work of the ministry.

"This conclusion was, as it were, a striking away of the foundation of the ministry according to the opinions of Friends. And although it is now three or four years ago that I came to this conclusion, it was a long time before all its necessary concomitant doctrines also came clearly before my mind. But as years have rolled on, their truth has become more and more clear to my mind, and more weighty arguments have presented themselves for it; also the whole question of the foundation of the ministry, as held by Friends, has been sifted, and I have concluded upon it, that their view is a grave mistake, arising from a one-sided apprehension of Christianity.

"I make this record to state it as my firm belief that through Quakerism my services as a minister of the Gospel have been lost; unless indeed it please God in His mercy still further to illuminate my mind, to open the way for me to become connected with some other Church, and restore my health that I may be enabled to fill aright the arduous post of a teacher of His people.

"I still believe, and most joyfully and consolingly lay hold of the truth, that God's Spirit is given to His ministers; that it is by His grace alone that they

can preach efficaciously to the saving of souls. But what I conclude is not true is, that a perceptible direction is given to His ministers, specifically and unmistakably directing where, when, and what to speak.

"Terrible were the struggles of my soul to ascertain the mind of God, to know whether He was saying to me, Go and preach thus or thus. And after all I have been obliged to conclude that I did not walk by sight, that is, I did not receive a *perceptible direction*, but had to walk by faith that certain impressions on my mind were produced by the Holy Spirit. And then I inquired, In what then really consists this boasted *immediate guidance?* In what in reality differ the ministrations among Friends from the ministrations among others? Good men believe themselves called to the work of the ministry; in this faith they prayerfully seek to attain a knowledge of God's mind; they study and prepare, in humble dependence that God's illumination will rest upon them, and thus they prepare a discourse for others. Which then is most likely to speak truth, he who in faith believes himself called, and prayerfully employs all the means of God's appointing to qualify himself for the work; or he who waiting for an immediate direction neither prepares nor studies, but rises in the assembly of the people to utter an unpremeditated discourse, his mind often the more disqualified for such a task by the excessive exercise to ascertain God's will, and the consequent nervous depression?

"Give me, O Lord, I humbly beseech Thee for Jesus Christ's sake, Thy good Spirit to instruct me.

Make me willing to leave all and follow Thee, though it please Thee to lead me into a path of contempt and tribulation. Let me, O my Father, have Thy blessing ; be Thou with me, and I am ready to go whithersoever Thou wouldst have me. Here I am, do with me as seemeth good in Thy sight. Amen."

# CHAPTER II

Winter in the south of France—Gradual severance from the Quakers—Farewell to the Society—Uncertainty as to future course.

THE summer of 1852 brought a temporary improvement in Henry Callaway's health, but the doctors agreed that he must leave England for the winter. Whether or not he should ever settle again permanently in London, his work as a general practitioner was pronounced too great a strain, and he decided to sell his practice, by which he had latterly been earning as much as £1,000 a year, and to study to qualify as a physician, in case no other course lay open to him. In October they left the house in Finsbury Circus and travelled by easy stages to the south of France, arriving in November at Montpellier, which was to be their headquarters for the winter. It was the first time that either husband or wife had been abroad, and they were naturally much interested by the journey and by the sights of Paris, the only place in which they stayed for any length of time. It is curious to notice how within the last few years Henry Callaway's attitude had changed towards the Roman Catholic religion, which he had been accus-

tomed to regard with horror, as tending to shut out altogether the true light from the hearts of its adherents.

"[Paris] 10*th month*, 20. There is that power in Christianity that can exert itself and bring forth fruit notwithstanding the external forms with which it may be associated; these forms may hinder it in its operations and may in some instances make it ineffectual by causing the soul to rest in them, to the neglect or want of comprehension of the truth which they were intended to represent; yet it possesses a living and leavening power which, even with a defective system, makes itself felt in the inmost principles of the soul, and silently affects the great work of restoration to spiritual health. 'Let us not judge one another any more.' I have my errors, the Roman Catholic has his. I trust that my errors of ignorance or of education, of temperament, of circumstance, may not be permitted to mar the work of grace in my soul so as to shut me out at the last from the presence of my God and Saviour. And so I would trust that the same all-merciful and all-knowing Lord will not allow the errors of education and of prejudice, the deadening influence of an external formalism, to mar in any Roman Catholic brother the work of grace; but that with all our incompleteness of faith, and all our want of clear perception of the Divine Will and of the Truth of the Gospel, with all our defects in doctrine and in practice, we may stand together before the throne of God 'accepted in the Beloved.'" . . . He was much interested in the

cemetery of Père-la-Chaise, and was evidently surprised to find how much genuine faith there was, shining through and overcoming superstition.

"10*th month*, 25 [1852]. [He left Paris by the 10.35 train for Châlons]. . . . Two English gentlemen were in the same carriage with us. . . . Mr.—— [a clergyman of the Church of England] and myself had a long conversation on many subjects, chiefly religious. We agreed pretty well on most subjects, for I cannot now defend the peculiar system of Quakerism, and he, although a decided Churchman in his sentiments, expressed his opinions with moderation. It is in conversation with such men that I find I have passed from the sectarian platform. . . . I sometimes wish I had never left the Church of England. I did so at a period when I was young and inexperienced and ignorant; and sincerity of heart, honesty of intention, and well-meant zeal do not save us from error, if they are not associated with a well-informed judgment. . . . A merciful Providence has been with me, and carefully guided my footsteps, so that if I then stepped out of a right way, He has not permitted me to be entirely lost in labyrinths of error.

"11*th month*, 25 [Montpellier]. Attended worship at the 'Temple,' for so the church of Protestants is designated, the term *Église* being restricted to the churches of the Catholics. Since coming to France, the question of attending other places of worship has, for the first time since I ceased to attend the Church of England, claimed my serious consideration. I have concluded that the exclusiveness of Quakerism had its

origin in its own supposed election to be God's peculiar people, and that it is not a Christian exclusiveness. I have not therefore hesitated to attend other places of worship. . . . I often pray to God that He will be pleased to grant me His grace that I may be enabled to do what is right. I trust I accept the Lord Jesus Christ as my all in all; I desire to do so more and more, and day by day to grow in the knowledge of my own utter worthlessness and His all glorious sufficiency. Thus it matters not to what section of the visible Church I belong. Each section has its peculiar defects. None of them are without some taint. I suspect that as fallen humanity forms one of the elements of the Church, there will be a mixture of good and bad; the Church without spot and blameless is not the Church militant, but the Church triumphant. . . .

"12*th month*, 5. A great noise and bustle here today, in consequence of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Emperor. . . .

"12*th month*, 12. Many, very many and very deep are the disquietudes and troubles of my mind. I desire earnestly to know the Lord's will concerning me; and very much have my thoughts been occupied since coming to Montpellier with the question of what my future engagement in life shall be, should it please the Lord to restore me to health. . . . I look back to the time when I first came among Friends, a time of sincerity and of religious earnestness, but when the mind was neither sufficiently informed nor sufficiently matured to determine between the relative values of

the communion I was leaving and that with which I was about to associate myself. . . . Warm, imaginative, and impulsive, there was something attractive in the Quaker system of worship; I entered into its spirit and fully comprehended its idea. There seemed to me to be an unspeakable beauty in individual souls presenting themselves in the Divine presence, not to listen to the word of man, but to worship God in spirit, to receive of Him that instruction which their individual state might require, and to hold communion with God through the medium of the Holy Spirit. This was the attraction, and my inability to ascend to the height of the idea was attributed to my infantile condition; and great indeed was the strain upon my nervous system, whilst, sitting in these silent meetings, I endeavoured to attain to that entire abstraction of mind in which I might find myself alone with God; bitter often was my self-reproach when other thoughts intervened between myself and my Saviour, and the meetings, instead of being times of spiritual edification and refreshment, often became sources of discouragement and bitter after-reflections. Yet there were times when my spirit was

> "Wrapt into still devotion which transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer and praise.

"Again and again various opinions . . . . . came before my mind and were subjected to scrutiny; but the scrutiny was made from the *Quaker ground* and things were seen with the *Quaker's eyes;* and for years I succeeded in reasoning

down the objections which would ever and anon arise in my mind. By the system of worship I was held as by a chain ; and while I saw defects I attributed them to degeneracy in the body, and thought that a reformation might be effected. It is possible that had it been permitted to me to fill the place of a private Christian, I should never have called in question the principles of the Society ; I should have sat in their silent meetings, received instruction and edification, and thought little of the general condition of mankind. But it was not so ; my place I believed was to minister to others, and with this prospect, to make myself acquainted with the real principles of the Gospel. *There* arose the first little cloud which obscured in my sight the purity of Quakerism. I was called to the work of the ministry, yet I was also . . . called upon to have a secular occupation. To my consciousness the two things were incompatible. . . I did not then see, however, what was the full development of this idea of incompatibility ; I did not call in question the principle ; the freedom from charge to the Churches of the Gospel ministry appeared to me a beautiful feature of the self-denial of Christian love, and I accepted it from my heart. But I did not for myself inquire by a rigid scriptural examination what was really the mind of God on the subject ; no, I expected that He would in some way or other provide means for me independent of the Church, and of my own exertions. . . . The medical profession, whilst it necessarily took away my thoughts from religious subjects exclusively, tended to develop my

intellectual powers, and give a wider range to my thought. . . . I often wish that I had pursued my studies to be ordained a minister of the Church of England. . . . but as I had turned out of that way, I cannot but regard it as an unspeakable mercy that another profession was made the means of my intellectual culture.

"I am no longer a Quaker. I feel no longer bound by [Quakers'] rules, it seems almost hypocrisy to practise them. . . . It would be sinful in me not to be willing to enter into communion with other Christians. I differ from [the Quakers] on the great question of the maintenance of ministers, and should hardly feel at liberty to refuse the payment of tithes, should I ever again be so circumstanced as to have the demand made. Inefficient as we are,—utterly incompetent as the machinery of our Society must be admitted to be to act upon the masses and to evangelise the world,—the practical failure of the principle of a non-paid ministry which our history affords forbids us to stand in the way of other more active Christians; it becomes us rather to join hand and heart with all who seek to advance the cause of truth and righteousness. . . .

"What shall I do then? My health is such that it does not appear very probable that I shall ever be able to speak much. Yet I know that if it be God's will that I should be a preacher of His Gospel, He can heal all my diseases."

As regards the statement above quoted, that he might have always remained in the Quaker communion with untroubled conscience if he had not

thought of becoming one of its ministers, one cannot but think that the probability would have been in the other direction. In all earnestness and conscientiousness he seems to have renounced whatever secular reading or occupation was not necessary to the study of medicine; whereas if his intellect and good sense had had fair play, he might long ago have gained the clearer light which was now dawning, and which in good faith he had unconsciously been trying to shut out.

The quiet routine of the life at Montpellier resulted in a steady though gradual return to health. Callaway devoted his time to studying French and natural history; he read much theology, and, later on, began to practise a little among the English residents. The French was a matter of some difficulty at first. "I said to the *garçon* soon after our arrival, 'I suppose you have great difficulty in comprehending my odd French?' He answered, 'Not at all, *for* I am accustomed to hear spoken broken-legged and left-handed French.'"

On the 17th of January (his birthday) 1853, the tidings reached him of the death of his father. They had not met for some eight or nine years, partly on account of the distance between them, partly because of the wider alienation arising from religious differences. But there had been no ill-feeling, and they had continued to correspond till the time of the son's leaving England.

"*2nd month*, 1853. It is wonderful to me how differently the Bible is read when I have put off the shackles which Quakerism put upon my thoughts, and

which by fixing a conventional meaning to certain words tends to corrupt the interpretation, and consequently the meaning, of very much of the Word of God. The meaning which the Friends" (the use of the definite article here is significant) "would attach to *Word* is very pernicious, and obscures many portions of the Bible, and destroys the sense of others. The same may be said of the *teaching*, *witnessing*, and *testimony* of the Holy Spirit, which, by their being understood of *immediate* action, turns away the disciple of Christ from the real means whereby the Spirit teaches, to lead him to rest in imaginations of his own mind or delusions of the enemy. The same is true of the word *Baptism*, which being very often understood —without authority, and in contradiction of the context and of the sense of antiquity—to mean *Spiritual* Baptism, destroys the force of many passages of the Scriptures on the subject of *Water-Baptism*, and seems to justify the Society in the neglect of that ordinance. . . . There is no subject perhaps in which the views of Friends have had a more deadly influence than on the subject of *prayer;* the necessity of waiting for a special influence, the obscuration of the precious command to ask in the *Name* of Jesus, by giving the signification of *power* to the word *name*, and thus in two ways closing the door of access to the throne of grace, have kept many a child of God from the consolation and the powerful and strengthening influence of prayer."

The following extract belongs to a somewhat earlier date, but may be fitly inserted here :—

". . . . I have no doubt of the correctness of Josiah Foster's statement that to seek to improve the Society by means of lectures on religious subjects is an 'unquakeristical' proceeding. But then, has it not been the working of 'Quakeristic' principles which has caused the Society to decline? If so, are not 'unquakeristic' proceedings necessary if the Society is to be improved? But Friends generally accuse anything but their principles as the cause of this declension. They rather incline to believe that the falling off is due to a cessation of the activity of the principles —a want of faithfulness in ourselves. I certainly do not believe anything of the kind—on the contrary, it is a firm conviction that the principles of Quakerism are not calculated to act upon the masses of mankind, not competent to convey the truth into the heart of the world. . . ."

"What is defective is the absence of systematic teaching. But . . . to *think* of the propriety of systematic teaching is to take entirely different views of the ministry from those which Friends have always held. They recognised scarcely anything but the spiritual element. Man, if he would be rightfully a minister of the Gospel, must be passive: and the greater the degree of passivity that any one has attained, the greater was his qualification. The theory produced its fruits in a belief in the want of authority in all other preaching whatever—in a testimony against the hireling ministry of all other denominations."

## *To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Montpellier, 2nd month 28th*, 1853. . . . I have always been dissatisfied with Quakerism as it has been actually exhibited to me; and I have never asked a person to accompany me to a meeting of Friends, because I have always felt insecure as to what might be said or done. . . . The arguments with which I might succeed in convincing or confuting others did not always confirm my own mind. Thou knowest that when two persons desirous of ascertaining the truth discuss together, it is necessary that they should modify each the opinion of the other. The bigot only is more strongly convinced by discussion that he is absolutely right. In this lower world we are all of us sufficiently clouded in our notions of truth, not to be capable of some further enlightenment; and I believe I never entered into any discussion without gaining some light. . . .

"I believe that between [the ages of] fifteen and eighteen I had clearer, and sounder, and more comprehensive views of the Gospel than between eighteen and thirty. . . . My present views are more those of my first religious impressions; it really seems as if the life of those young days was renewed, as I again open my eyes to the light of the Holy Spirit which shines through, not independent of, the Scriptures of truth. . . .

"It appears to me that the system of Quakerism retains a great hold on the mind which has once come under its influence, for several reasons: first, it has a

large substratum of truth; its doctrines are almost without exception an *exaggeration* of a truth set forth in Holy Writ, which it is not easy to distinguish from the truth itself, especially as long as you hold a false key of interpretation. Then, others of its errors are rather *negative* than positive; it omits stating the truth rather than it promulgates error. Then, it *enslaves the conscience*, brings it into bondage to scruples, makes it sensitive about feelings which may or may not be right. . . .

"I have received a letter from ——. The dear good man seems to think that a change of opinion is impossible but as the result of some sinfulness, shutting God's ear to prayer: and of His judgments against it. A letter from my very dear and intelligent friend —— is somewhat of the same tenor. To these friends I have always been closely attached; we have known each other very intimately. . . . They think, I believe, that I am under some temporary beclouding from temptation; they have no conception of the extent of the change which has taken place, of its causes, nor of the depth of my convictions. Temptation I am undoubtedly subject to, and in no slight degree. But . . . in the hour of temptation I am enabled to say 'I know whom I have believed;' and thank God I am enabled to believe even at these times when I cannot feel. . . . Feelings are fallacious, and change often from physical causes; but faith is firm, and knows that God does not change, that He abideth faithful. His promises are an answer to our prayers.

We cannot have anything better or more firm to rest on than the unfailing truth of our God. . . .

"We do not make many acquaintances here. I spend most of my time in reading and writing; we walk daily for an hour or two or even more, the weather rarely preventing us. I amuse myself collecting shells; I have mounted over sixty varieties. This is my only amusement. Mr. —— and his little boy have caught of me the 'shell fever,' and are become very diligent collectors; Mr. —— spends a very great portion of his time collecting, cleaning, learning, and mounting them. He says he expects to 'lose his immortality' through them, as they quite prevent his getting on with a book he is writing. . . ."

*To the same.*

"*Montpellier*, 1853, *3rd month*, 25. . . . I read and greatly enjoy the hours spent with Calvin. His mind appears to have been very profound, very comprehensive, very simple in some things, yet subtle enough in others. I read with admiration the clearness of his arguments, their consistency and force when he is not writing in the trammels of his peculiar sentiments. But how differently does he write when he has to explain his opinions respecting election so as to make them appear to be in accordance with those declarations of God's universal love which are so common in the Scriptures, and which constitute the foundations of the Gospel. I think I see where Calvin has missed it. He looks at God too exclusively through His

attribute of *Power*, of *Sovereignty*, a power which nothing hinders, a sovereignty which everything obeys. How easy to pass by such a route to make God the author of everything that has ever been, whether good or evil! Calvin does not, he cannot with his system, meet the difficulties attendant on the existence of evil; and he explains 'reprobation' in such a way as to chill the heart as it contemplates the conduct of God towards a fallen race."

The outcome of these months of retirement and meditation was that in the spring of 1853 Callaway took the decisive step of severing himself from the Society to which he had been now attached for about eighteen years.

"*April 23rd*, 1853. I have concluded that as my mind is now become perfectly satisfied as to the Scriptural unsoundness of the Society of Friends, and as from some source or other my change of view has become a subject of common conversation, it will be better without further delay to send in my resignation of membership to the monthly meeting. . . . My letter of resignation is as follows:—

"'TO DEVONSHIRE HOUSE MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.

"'My dear Friends,—For several years I have entertained doubts as to the Scriptural soundness of some of the principles of the Society of Friends; and after much anxious mental conflict, and deep and prayerful thoughtfulness, I have been led to differ on many

essential points from those views of Christian truth professed by them. I believe the time has now fully arrived when I cannot any longer remain in connexion with them. I therefore desire to resign my membership.

"'In informing you of this conclusion, which is the result of a prolonged consideration of the subject, I would assure you of the continuance of my Christian love; and that I shall never cease to feel a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of the members of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, with whom I have for so many years been associated in religious profession; and to whom in conclusion I would express the prayer of my heart, that 'grace and peace may be multiplied unto them through the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord.'

"'Your sincere friend,

"'HENRY CALLAWAY.

"'It would be very satisfactory to me, if Friends would kindly accept my resignation at once, without appointing a committee.

"*Montpellier*, 1853, iv. 23.'

"It is now ended, my connexion with Friends. It will be now my duty, I believe, to endeavour to enter as a minister in the Church of England. If the way does not open, I believe I must conclude that I am not called to the holy and honourable office, and shall then seek for grace to enable me to serve God in whatever situation of life He may please to place me. O Lord, be Thou my Director and Guide. Amen."

At this time there was still some hesitation in his mind as to whether he could in sincerity attach himself to the English Church. He had doubts on the subject of "Baptismal Regeneration;" and while distrusting the High Church party for their insistence on the authority of the Church, his late study of Calvin's works had given him a strong dislike to the Low Church tendency to belief in "election." "But I feel that I am very ignorant, and sometimes wonder how I could be so presumptuous as to think of teaching others whilst I am myself so blind."

# CHAPTER III

Return to England—Qualifies as a physician—Winter at Bonchurch—Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*—Return to the Church of England—Offers himself to Bishop Colenso as missionary—Ordination.

ABOUT the end of May, 1853, Henry Callaway and his wife returned to England, and settled in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. John Morland, at Croydon, for the summer. Though his health was greatly improved, the doctor did not regard his case very favourably, and advised him to give up, at least for the present, the idea of taking Holy Orders, and continue the study of medicine. It was a great disappointment. Now that religious scruples were overcome, ill-health seemed comparatively a slight obstacle, and he would gladly have run the risk if there had been no one but himself to think of. As it was, he submitted once more to what conscience told him was his duty, and again took up his old profession.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*June* 16, 1853. . . . It is with real sorrow that I conclude that my mission on earth is not, so far as we

can now see, that of a minister of the Gospel. I know how earnestly I have longed to be dedicated to that service, and believe that if it had been my place, the ways of Providence would have been opened before me.

"Now I am going to set to work in earnest. Dr. B. [Burrows] advises me to go to the next examination for M.D. at Aberdeen, and to go up to the C. P. [College of Physicians] at the autumn examination."

*To the same.*

"*July* 27, 1853. . . . Dr. K. is interested in my practical answers, which he says are written always as though I was writing with my cases before my eyes. The other day he said to me he had been much struck with one thing in all my answers, that 'I never wrote anything wrong'—they might be too short, or defective, but what I did write was right."

*To the same.*

"*Royal Hotel, Aberdeen. August* 9, 1853. Well, my dear Cornelius, I am at last a veritable M.D., waiting only the formal declaration of the fact by the assembled Senate of King's College, and the handing over of the Diploma! This morning I 'passed my examination.' It took just one hour. . . . Curiously enough I was examined on scarcely a single subject to which I have lately been paying special attention, or, in student's phrase, 'working up.' . . . The examination ended, I was requested to retire into

an adjoining room, but had not had time to look about before I was recalled to be informed that my examination had been perfectly satisfactory. . . .

"I seem to be put *hors de combat* in a religious point of view. It is, I believe, quite right for the present, and I feel increasingly satisfied with the correctness of the conclusion I have arrived at in reference to Quakerism. . . .

"On my way up I stopped a night at Manchester to see my sister Sarah, whom I had not seen before since her marriage, nearly twenty years ago."

In October of this year Dr. and Mrs. Callaway settled at Bonchurch, where they were to spend the winter. Here there were a few patients to be attended, and the quiet of the place gave Dr. Callaway leisure to study and to devote himself to a work which he had long had in his mind, namely, a pamphlet on the doctrines of the Quakers. It developed itself into a History of Quakerism as gathered from the writings of its early teachers, and proved to be a lengthier business than he had intended, occupying some months. He had some thoughts of re-writing the whole later on in a form more extensive and more suitable for publication; but found (February, 1854) that he was not altogether satisfied with the work—"I am not sure that very much of it is not a reflex of Quakerism as I held it, rather than Quakerism as it would be found in the writings of Friends." It was laid aside for an interval of leisure—a luxury which he was destined to renounce

from this time forward—and still remains in MS. in its immature form.

There was plenty of opportunity at Bonchurch to add to his already large collection of land and fresh-water shells, and this pursuit helped to relieve the mental strain, and to pass the time during this period of comparative inactivity.

With returning health and strength the long-cherished purpose of Callaway's life was beginning to assume a definite form. Day after day the mists of doubt and difficulty which had enveloped his mind were clearing away, and the counsel and sympathy of two or three clergymen with whom he was brought into contact, especially of the vicar and curate of Bonchurch, encouraged him to persevere.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Hill Side Cottage, Bonchurch, Nov.* 28, 1853. . . . Since I wrote last I have become acquainted with the curate, Mr. Venables [subsequently Precentor of Lincoln]. . . . I took a pleasant walk with him, and during our conversation he asked me if I had read Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*, which was written in reply to some questions by a Friend, and which contains an exposition and refutation of the system of Quakerism. The same Maurice who is expelled, or in danger of being so, from a professorship in King's College for some erroneous doctrines. This morning he has sent me the Vol. I., and as though anticipating my future avocation directed it 'Rev.—Callaway.' I intend to

finish my own *Letters to a Friend* before I read Maurice's, for I wish to express my own underived sentiments before reading those of others.

"*Dec.* 4, 1853. . . . I have commenced Maurice's book and am very much interested in it. . . . He clearly shows that Quakerism has neither established a spiritual religion nor borne a testimony against the world. One position appeared at first sight rather startling; he says that Friends have formed 'narrow, imperfect and earthly notions respecting the nature of a spiritual kingdom, and a low estimate of the transcendent gift of the Holy Spirit.' I believe it is perfectly true, and merely another way of expressing my idea that they preached a universal light as the gift of God to all men, not perceiving the transcendent excellence and superiority of that gift of the Holy Spirit which is made to believers."

It will be seen from the following letter how far Maurice's teaching had influenced him.

"*Dec.* 20, 1853. [He has been speaking of the Established Church and of his former antagonism]. . . . I am persuaded that such opposition was founded on ignorance in two respects—my ignorance of the Church, and my ignorance of the real position of Dissenters in relation to it. When I see the necessity of something to resuscitate Protestantism, and inquire whence that resuscitation shall come, I confess I see scarcely a possibility of its coming from any quarter but the Episcopal Church. . . The tendency to separate which has marked the age of the Reformation must have an end. . . . There is a sighing for *unity* among all

classes of men. '*That they may be one as we are*' was our Redeemer's prayer; and this is what all earnest spirits are now longing for, that they may be one in Christ. . . .

"What men want is not a notion but a reality; they have need to be taught not what *may be* but what *is*. They who have God's revelation to declare to man must speak with authority; woe is unto them if they dare to lower His truth to suit any set of men or any class of mind. They are *servants* to bring men into relation with God and to minister to them in holy things. It is very easy to slide from this position and to think they are lords over God's heritage. . . .

"When our Saviour prayed that His disciples might be one; when the Apostle Paul declared that divisions were a proof of the Corinthians being carnal; and when the Apostle John declares that they who left the communion of the Church did so because they were not of the Church; I think we cannot look upon these divisions with indifference, nor think it is God's will that they should continue."

On December 4th, 1853, for the first time since his secession, Callaway received the communion in the English Church. Ever since the idea of taking orders had first presented itself to him his thoughts had turned again to missionary work as that to which he was specially called. Later circumstances had confirmed him in the idea. He had few ties to bind him to England, and the friends he had were for the most part members of the Society of Friends, intercourse with

whom was now necessarily less close and congenial than formerly. Added to all this, it was evident that the climate of England was not suitable for him in his still delicate state of health. Accordingly, on the appointment of Dr. Colenso to the Bishopric of Natal, Callaway wrote to him offering his services as a missionary ; and though the letter missed the Bishop, who had already started on a preliminary visit to South Africa, a letter published by him in the *Guardian* inviting three or four clergy to assist him in working among the Zulu Kaffirs practically gave the desired answer. The Board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel invited Callaway to an interview, and decided upon his general fitness for missionary work. It was finally arranged that the ordination should take place at home, and that he should accompany Bishop Colenso, who was coming back to England early in the summer, when the latter returned in the autumn to Natal.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Bonchurch, February 7th*, 1854. I have learnt several curious and highly important facts, which have a bearing on the rise of Friends, from Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. It is quite remarkable how many things in common they hold with the early Anabaptists of Germany, who at last, as you will remember, became physical-force men and attempted to establish the New Jerusalem by the sword. His account of the manner in which they passed from one

error to another, and what was the ground of all their errors, is a most masterly piece of writing. . . . Have you got a Zulu Bible? I have not done much on the language, just enough to learn that it cannot be mastered without doing a great deal. . . . Another thing I want you to do for me. I want a *prayer-book*, with all the occasional services; *interleaved.* The prayer-book, I find, is quite a study, and embodies so very much that is interesting historically and doctrinally that I wish an interleaved one, that I may note here and there the results of my readings. . . ."

*To the* REV. E. HAWKINS. (Secretary of the S.P.G.)

"*Bonchurch, February 9th*, 1854. . . . As regards the terms on which I am to go [to Natal] I shall be satisfied with food and raiment (*i.e.* things immediately necessary for subsistence) for myself and wife. Before the fact was mentioned by Mr. Bullock, I did not know that the Society guaranteed a missionary a salary under any circumstances.

"The most important subject, however, still to me is, the time, and the ordination. . . . I cannot but think that my ulterior labours as a missionary in Natal would be of a much more efficient character, if before going I could spend a few months with some learned divine, who would chiefly by conversation help me to give a consistency to my theological knowledge. For although I have been a diligent theological student for more than twenty years, yet I have arrived at that truth which I now hold in an almost

independent manner, frequently by wading through erroneous writings. There are few theological questions which I have not considered, and many of those ideas of truth which, whilst reading a certain class of writers, I thought peculiar to myself, I have been delighted to find clearly enunciated in long-written works of standard authors of the Church of England."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Bonchurch, May 7th*, 1854. . . . We have a tremendous wind and a fine sea. I think of our poor sailors. I do hate this war; although my judgment tells me it is necessary. Yet it is a necessary evil; and thousands are now dying in battle, by disease or want, through the folly and ambition of one man. It is hard to believe sometimes that this moral tempest will be actually beneficial; yet I believe it will be, and that truth, liberty and independence will be advanced by it."

*Diary.* "*August* 11*th*, 1854. . . . It is intended that I shall accompany the Bishop to Norwich to-morrow, Saturday, to be ordained Deacon by him on Sunday in the cathedral. . . .

"I earnestly desire to enter fully into my ministry with all the spirit of the great calling; to abound in those Christian tempers which S. Paul recommends to Timothy, and to become 'an example of the believers, in *word*,'—that is, in doctrine,—'in *conversation*,'—that is, in every day intercourse with others,—'in *charity*,'

love to God and man, 'in *spirit*, in *faith*, in *purity*.' But it is a war still within against the deeds or lusts of the flesh. Can it be that I shall ever declare that glorious ideal of the Christian life, which is revealed, without having attained to the realisation of it. . . . O Lord, Heavenly Father, give me, I beseech thee, for Jesus Christ's sake, Thy blessed Spirit to be with me, to guide, to teach, and to keep me in this way which I go. Bless Thou the ministry of Thy Word by me, that many souls may be gathered to Thy Church, that so Thy Name may be glorified. Let no pride, no self-seeking, no worldly interests, no fear of man, ever hinder Thy work in me, nor prevent my declaring faithfully to the people Thy whole counsel. Make me faithful to Thee and to them. Enable me to cast all my care upon Thee, and to commit myself and my all to Thy sacred keeping. Amen."

The ordination took place at Norwich, as arranged, on August 13th, Bishop Colenso preaching the sermon from the text "Glory to God in the Highest; peace on earth, goodwill towards men." Callaway writes in his diary, "I was able to trust that God had called me to the work and would bless me in it."

Mrs. Callaway at this time sent in her resignation of membership in the Society of Friends. She had for some time been in the habit of attending the services of the Church of England with her husband.




From your obedient Servt
Henry Callaway.

# CHAPTER IV

Settles at Pietermaritzburg—Plans and discouragements—Services in Kaffir—Difference with Colenso on Kaffir word for God—How best to gain the natives—Plan for establishing a native Christian village.

DR. AND MRS. CALLAWAY left England in the *Lady of the Lake* on August 26th, 1854, and reached Durban December 5th. He began his Church ministry by holding daily services on board, and preaching, when the weather would allow it, on Sundays. It was a great satisfaction to be able to make even this small beginning, and he was the better prepared on the Sunday after his arrival to preach at the invitation of the clergyman, in the schoolroom at Durban, which served as a temporary church. His voice proved stronger than he had expected, and he took courage on finding that he had been helped successfully through his first day's work. The first impressions of African life too were cheering. "As regards the country," he writes, "it is in every respect *better* than we had anticipated. The place (Durban) is dreadfully sandy, being situated at the mouth of the bay. . . . The people are more civilised and have many more comforts than I had thought to find. Indeed, excepting

that the houses are not furnished in quite the same *style*, I do not see but that they are as comfortable here as in England."

After Christmas they moved on to Pietermaritzburg, and decided to remain there for the present in order that Callaway might take charge of a little mission church a few miles distant — "Ekukanyeni," the "Church in the light." Hither he rode every Sunday morning.

"My road lies first through the town, then over some flat land, through a river (which is sometimes impassable, but I have not yet been stopped), then I ascend a little eminence and get a refreshing breeze as I canter along in the valley . . . . descend and come to a great bog, where in some places they tell me I might almost lose my horse. But I have landmarks, a house at a distance, a mole heap, and the bridge over the river on the other side of the bog. . . . Having got through the bog, which abounds with snipe and beautiful grasses, I cross a bridge (a very rough affair, and now nearly washed away by the recent rains) and get into the 'valley of storms,' so called because it rains there when it rains nowhere else. . . . I cross another river and ascend a steep hill, and here opens out to me a beautiful scene—in the distance, covered with a blue haze, rises Table Mountain; and between, an irregular and wooded country, with the farms of the colonists dotting the valleys here and there. . . . The buildings of the mission station are at present nothing but the houses, outhouses, Kaffir huts, &c., of the farmers who are working on the land."

The services were of course in English for the benefit of the colonists, as was the evening service which he used to take at Pietermaritzburg on his return.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Pietermaritzburg, February* 19, 1855. . . . I promised to send you an account of our voyage, but I have found my time becoming more and more occupied. We have found Natal in every respect, except climate, better than we expected. Everything has the appearance of youthfulness, nothing is finished. There is neither at Durban nor here anything that we should call a street; what is so named here is a dusty road, with detached houses at variable distances, and very rarely any two coming opposite each other. A small stream or canal about three feet broad runs on each side, which, whilst it affords abundance of water to the inhabitants, gives the place a cool and refreshing appearance, and might be made of great use in the further progress of the city. Here in summer we are troubled with a superabundance of mud. A shower of rain—of course I mean a Natal shower, which is very decided generally in its character—leaves the road for a time almost impassable. . . . But twelve hours or less of dry weather and all this disappears, and instead is left rough road, soon to be rubbed down by the tread of oxen, &c. . . . The Kaffirs [at Durban] in the service of the white man strike one much less favourably than those at Pietermaritzburg. They are more savage; less care, I fancy, is taken in their education, they are used more entirely as beasts of burden,

and are less awed by the presence of the Government —the 'great house' here. As far as I have seen, I do not believe that there is at present the least danger to be apprehended from the Kaffirs in this colony ; they appear happy and contented."

The prospects of the mission, as described to him at this time by those who had been for a long time at work there, were anything but encouraging. Little interest was manifested by the white population in the work of evangelisation among the heathen, and the work itself seemed to be at a very low ebb. This Callaway attributed partly to the fact that the missionaries were many of them only imperfectly acquainted with the language of the natives, and he set himself with renewed assiduity to learning it thoroughly himself, with a view to the education of native missionaries. He worked at the language on an average ten hours a day, assisted by his Kaffir servant. Whatever time was not occupied with this and his ministerial duty, was devoted to medical work ; and as his services were of course given gratis, he soon had a large practice both among the members of the mission party and the native population.

In June, 1855, Bishop Colenso, with a large staff of workers, arrived from England. His presence relieved Callaway from some responsibilities in Church matters, but brought him at the same time a considerable increase of work ; and fifty new arrivals entailed a corresponding addition to his medical labours. From the first, Callaway had a great desire to establish a hospital for the use of English and Kaffirs ; for he

found that not only was his time much taken up by visiting his patients, but that the nursing to be obtained was miserably inefficient, so that his work was constantly hindered. He wished also to found an orphanage for Kaffir children. For both objects, however, as for the general work of the mission, funds were wanting, and at present there seemed to be little prospect of his being able to raise them. A large grant of land had been made for the use of the Church, but European labour was too expensive to make proper cultivation possible. The Kaffirs were as yet ignorant of the very elements of agriculture—at least according to English ideas—and needed constant direction and supervision even in such mechanical work as could be given them.

"*July* 21*st*, 1855. I had to-day an interesting conversation with two Kaffirs. I was attending to the preparation of some skulls, when they inquired what I was doing with them. I told them, 'I love to see and to show the works of God.' They appeared fully to understand me, and, as is almost invariably the case whenever the name of God is mentioned to the Kaffirs, assumed a reverent expression and gave an assenting nod to what I had said. I asked them what name they gave to God. They immediately answered Unkulunkulu, and then explained to me that the Abafundisa called Him Utixo, but that they, the Kaffirs, called Him Unkulunkulu. I then inquired if they knew anything respecting Unkulunkulu before they were taught by the missionaries; they answered yes, that their fathers had taught them, and that God

had made all things. He was dala, dala, dala, *dala*—that is old, old, old, *old*, their way of expressing their belief in His eternal being, *a sæculis sæculorum*."

Another Kaffir, however, told him that Unkulunkulu and Utixo were two distinct deities, that "Unkulunkulu began and died, but Utixo was there at all times, He exists now, but Unkulunkulu does not exist."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Pietermaritzburg, September* 11*th*, 1855. . . . Having had my time taken up by ministerial duties among the white people, and my mind distracted with other matters medical and secular, I ought to be very thankful to be able now to preach regularly to the Kaffirs in their own language, and, what is still more difficult, to catechise them. Of course my knowledge of the language is as yet very imperfect indeed, and I am not free or fluent; but I can tell by the attention I obtain, and the answers I get to my questions, that I am understood, and accuracy must be a work of time. I have at present the sole charge of the little Kaffir congregation, if indeed it can be so called in connexion with the Church in this place. We have a service on Sunday at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m.; other duties and the social position of the Kaffir in town, prevent us at present from having any morning service. I have besides a school every evening at 7 p.m. when I teach them reading, and hope some day or other to get them beyond *a b c* and teach them writing; but they are astonishingly slow in learning to read,

although remarkably quick in some other things. Our usual number of attendants on Sunday afternoon is eighteen, in the evening nine or ten ; the school six to fourteen. We commence our service by prayer, sing two hymns and have a sermon ; the hymns are taken from our own Liturgy, but necessarily modified in passing into the Kaffir idiom. They are generally very attentive and devout. In the evening instead of the sermon I read some portion of Scripture, and catechise them on it ; or I take the Creed and explain it to them. I often get strikingly apposite replies, and the more so as they are becoming accustomed to the catechetical system, which I feel more and more satisfied is the right way of teaching these poor people. They are all alive, listening for the question, and their earnest dark eyes and expressive countenances are fixed upon you in a manner which I rarely see when I am preaching a formal sermon. Then there are some few who are very attentive, but although my sermon is short—ten minutes—I often observe symptoms of lassitude, especially on days when the hot winds are blowing. But I am often surprised to find how much they remember, and how curiously sometimes it is brought out when I perhaps have not known that they were particularly attentive.

"It is quite clear that they have a knowledge of good and evil, although low and perverted; they believe in the existence of spirits, and the transmigration of souls, which they suppose pass into other animals, but especially into a certain snake to

which they pray in cases of sickness, supposing it to be the residence of some departed friend. They believe also in God ; but I am not as yet quite clear as to what their precise notions are, or whether the belief is universal or even general among them. . . .

"They are building, and it is now nearly completed, a little church in this place, to be called St. Andrew's, where I am to minister, Mr. Bell having taken my duties at the mission station, which at present is in a very elementary condition. They are also building a Kaffir church, where I shall have to undertake a considerable part, if not the whole [of the] duty. But it will be necessary after a time to give up either the white or the coloured people, to devote myself to one or the other."

"*November* 19, 1855. . . . I was ordained priest on September 23. On October 14, St. Andrew's Church was opened—the first Church of England opened in the colony, to which I have been appointed Rector *pro tem.* [On the same day Mrs. Callaway was baptised and received the Holy Communion.]

"We are sadly wanting in good men, men whose whole heart is in the work ; some of those who came out with the bishop have disappointed us, they have wanted more than they could reasonably expect to find. The bishop has very uphill work at present, and from some cause or other there is a great opposition excited against him, under the pretence of suspecting him of *Puseyite* tendencies. This I know not to be the case. I think I know as much of his lordship's private mind as any one in the Colony, and in most matters

we think curiously alike. I do not agree with Maurice as he does, but we agree in all main questions, and get on very nicely together ; I generally see him daily."

Unfortunately Callaway found that the differences between his own opinions and those held by the bishop were greater than had at first appeared, and of a nature to cause serious hindrance to the method of teaching he had adopted.

*Diary.* "*March* 5, 1856. I am sorry to find that the Bishop intends to introduce the word Unkulunkulu into the Prayer-book. I feel an objection to it on these grounds :—

"(1) Unkulunkulu is a proper name, and not a word expressing the idea of Divinity as *Deus—Gott.* It would be no more proper to adopt such names as Jupiter, Mercury, Woden, as *names* of God, than to adopt Unkulunkulu.

"(2) The people themselves attach many very wrong and absurd notions to the Unkulunkulu, and one man ingenuously confessed to me when I pointed out these to him, 'O Sir, I perceive that the people believe vain things.'

"(3) The Jews were expressly commanded not to adopt the names of heathen gods.

" (4) Although S. Paul finding an altar inscribed 'To the Unknown God,' used that as a fulcrum on which to apply the lever of Gospel truth ; and adopted the word *Theos* for God ; yet he did not employ any of the names of the Grecian gods as a synonym for Jehovah. Indeed, how could he, when as he taught the Corin-

thians (1 Cor. x. 20) the gods whom the Gentiles worshipped were devils?"

From the time that S. Andrew's Church was opened, Callaway held the full morning and evening services there every Sunday, as well as afternoon and evening Kaffir services in his own house. To these he afterwards added a short early morning service for the special benefit of the natives of the outlying districts of Pietermaritzburg, and a Kaffir service at the gaol. His teaching usually took the form of catechising, and from the necessity thus laid upon him of measuring the value of turns and shades of expression, he rapidly gained complete command of the language. The success attending his work made all the more irksome to him what he considered mismanagement on the part of the bishop—he felt himself hampered by the supervision of a man between whom and himself there was a constantly-widening breach. The desire for freedom of action gave definite shape to an idea which had already begun to form in his mind.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Pietermaritzburg, July* 10, 1856. . . . Pietermaritzburg is not the place for a mission institution, for to say nothing of the fact that the Wesleyans have occupied the ground before us, and I think it very undesirable to present rival institutions to the attention of the Kaffirs, there is a constant change among our pupils. Out of above 100 who have attended our services and school during the past year, I cannot put

my hand on more than five or six who have made any real steady progress."

*To the same.*

"*December* 13, 1856. . . . There is not a single thing that the Kaffirs do not require to be taught, from the washing of their bodies to the building of their houses. They are brought into towns as domestic servants; of course they are raw and troublesome, few people take any trouble to teach them, and there are scarcely any who get any hold upon them beyond what the Kaffir's *interest* gives him. The reason clearly is that there is nothing in common between the two races. The Kaffir is a convenient beast of burden, a drudge; but how few feel that he is a fellow-man, a brother of the same blood, and for whom the one Blood of the Son of God was shed. They learn therefore for the most part among white people vice and cunning enough to be more wicked than in their native state. To do much as a missionary in a city under such circumstances is a very hopeless work; one cannot get an opportunity of acting fully upon them. . . . What I want is to take them away from the city. . . . I would purchase a farm, selecting such a position as is already thickly peopled with Kaffirs, as one in which they would like to live; a place with wood, water, and grazing-ground. . . . They should build different huts, enclose their lands, and send their children to school. I could assist them materially by giving them seeds, teaching them to plough, and other things. . . . Who can tell how many would gather around me at first for loaves

and fishes, who would at length come to confess that Christ is King! I long to carry out such a scheme; I know it would require more money than I am able to command, and yet if the work be a good one, and if I am the man to carry it out, the means will be forthcoming. We are willing to put our own shoulders to the wheel and to undergo necessary self-denials and deprivations, but we must have means. I doubt not but that year by year the expenses of the mission would decrease. The Kaffir would gradually feel an interest in the soil. I should hope to turn out good servants and good mechanics, and in this way cause not only the Kaffirs to long for instruction, but make white men see that it is to their advantage to endeavour to elevate their coloured brethren. Will you do what you can for us?"

And elsewhere he says: "Christian teaching must be supplemented by teaching of another kind—in fact everything that is calculated to make them think and to be systematic in their action and provident in their concerns. To teach them to plough instead of to hoe; to enclose their land, instead of keeping people to watch it; to get the men to work, and to learn that women were not made to be their slaves, but their companions; to teach them to sit on chairs and eat off plates, instead of squatting on the ground and eating with a chip out of a pot; to teach them to build square houses instead of round hovels,—are all parts of a missionary's teaching. There are the opposite faults: those who think of civilisation only, and those who think of teaching only; whilst there

is a third party who would use the Kaffirs only as servants."

For the present, however, the plan had to remain in abeyance. In 1857 Callaway was offered the post of permanent missionary at Ladysmith, an offshoot of S. Andrew's Mission 100 miles from Pietermaritzburg; but there were difficulties in the way, especially in finding a place of residence, and the idea was abandoned. He also declined a lucrative medical engagement, in the assurance that his main duties lay in the more directly ministerial work to which his life was dedicated. But his skill in medicine gave him advantages such as perhaps nothing else could have afforded for "coming into touch" with his people, and probably much of his success in mission work may be attributed to his medical knowledge and to the sympathy which sprang from it. Bishop Colenso, in writing in 1857 to the Secretary of the S.P.G., speaks of him as being "generally regarded as the ablest medical man in the Colony."[1]

[1] This was no doubt true, and in connection with this testimony it may be interesting to mention that a prosperous colonist from Durban, who was not very favourable to the influence of missionaries on the natives, stated, when on a visit to London, that, "apart from official position, Dr. Callaway was the most influential man in the colony," although he was then settled at Spring Vale, far away from any centre of civilisation.—C. H.

# CHAPTER V

Expedition to select a site for the new settlement—A rough journey—Spring Vale—Planting and building—Kaffir characteristics—How the collection of native traditions began—Umpengula.

IT was not till the beginning of 1858 that circumstances combined to give Dr. Callaway an opportunity to set about establishing the proposed mission station. His medical services were no longer needed at Ekukanyeni, as an English doctor had come out to reside there; and they could by this time be dispensed with in the town, owing to the increase of late in the number of well-qualified practitioners. The arrangements for S. Andrew's services, also, were being altered, thus making it easier for him to withdraw from the regular work on which he had been engaged. At this moment he heard that the Natal Government was making grants of land, of three thousand acres each, for settlers beyond the river Umkomanzi, and that the time for application would expire in two or three days. He sent in his name as an applicant—the plan was duly approved—and he set out with the Government surveyor to select his site.

The cavalcade consisted of Dr. Callaway and Mr.

Tatham on horseback, and a waggon drawn by ten oxen and driven by Kaffir servants. The road by which they travelled was in places nothing but a deep gutter hardly wider than the waggon, strewn with large loose stones, and diversified in places by large holes, or by steps a foot or two in height. Their progress was as may be imagined anything but swift, and when a particularly steep bit had to be climbed there was a long pause while extra oxen and men were pressed into the service, and with immense exertion dragged the heavy burden to the top. Sometimes the rate of travelling would not amount to more than four miles in the day. The nights were spent either in the waggon or in the scarcely less limited accommodation of a Kaffir kraal.

*Diary.* "*February* 6, 1858. . . . Rose with the sun and looked with interest on the country. Beyond the great river lies a lofty mountainous country, studded here and there with timber bush, and in places covered with mimosa. The opposite hills were still surrounded with their chaplets of mist. . . . Two mountain-ranges extend on each side of the river, which, from the distance from which we looked at it (about five or six miles) was but as a silver line in the valley. . . . Breaking away from the opposite range there are several lofty ridges intersected with deep glens, making their way to the water-side. By 9.30 a.m., we had trekked to the banks of the Umkomanzi. The descent is very bad, and the men tied a rope to the waggon, and hung on to it, to prevent its turning over."

The ascent on the opposite side was so steep that

there was no chance of climbing it before nightfall; and as this was Saturday there was no alternative but to pitch their tents and wait till Monday. "It was intensely oppressive, a burning sun looking on us from a perfectly cloudless sky, and not a breath of air stirring, not a tree to give us shelter.

"We were here among the people of Isidoi, a refractory Kaffir chief, who, having led his people against a neighbouring petty chief, had killed him and many of his men, and then refused to appear before the magistrate to answer for his conduct; in this he was supported by his people. The consequence was that the Government served a commando against him and his tribe; their cattle were captured, a few men were killed, and in Kaffir phraseology 'they were eaten up.' But Isidoi escaped, and has ever since been wandering about from kraal to kraal, never sleeping in the same kraal two successive nights.

"*February 7th, Sunday.*—It was not a very bright Sunday this, on the heights overlooking the Umkomanzi. I endeavoured to gather the Kaffirs round me, to tell them something of the good tidings I had come to preach, but very few came, only seven besides our own people. We sat under a tree, and after prayers I showed them Scripture prints, making them the basis of Christian instruction. They listened with great attention, and my two men Utyanje and Umpengula fully entered into the work, helping me out when I was at a loss for a word, and sometimes throwing themselves with earnestness into the work of explaining to their brethren those Scripture histories and

truths which they had already learned. One woman among them, named Umavotyo, had a peculiarly sweet and solemn, and somewhat sad expression of countenance. We terminated with prayer, and Umavotyo said 'Kuhle couke,' (it is all good)."

On the following day they continued their journey by precipitous paths, or through gorges overgrown with thick bushes, till they reached the high lands overlooking the banks of the Umzimkulu River. The great plain that lay before them would in many ways have been suitable for the settlement; but the difficulty of access and the want of water were two fatal obstacles, and they were obliged to explore farther. The waggon-party, being of course unable to travel by any but the beaten tracks, were constantly getting separated from the horsemen, and there would be a delay while they were being looked for—no slight matter if, as once happened, the explorers found themselves benighted in these mountain solitudes, with the prospect of spending the night without food, fire, or shelter.

On the 11th, they came upon a site which seemed to answer all requirements—"a vacated Dutch farm, with a little stream, the Insunguze, running through it, terminating in a deep gorge by a waterfall of 150 feet high. It is well watered and wooded, and contains abundance of pasture and arable land. There are on it a large number of Kaffirs, nine kraals averaging eight huts in a kraal; and a large quantity of land, probably more than two hundred acres, is under Kaffir cultivation. We called at one of the kraals; at first its inmates did not appear disposed to be very com-

municative, but after a time they relaxed—women and children gathered round us, and they gave us amasi (sour milk) and sold us mealies (Indian corn) for our horses.

"12*th*.—Uzita sent three of his Izinduna, or chief men, to speak with me. They were evidently alarmed at the intelligence which had preceded us, that a missionary was coming to settle among them. I requested to see Uzita himself, and he shortly came with a dozen or more Amadoda. They had already conjured up in their imagination visions of lung-sick oxen, and contention with Christian Kaffirs. I told them that I had come among them to do them good; that I had no other object, and that when we knew each other better, their fear would pass away. There were several questions they asked, which I had already anticipated, and to which I was therefore able to give them a ready and satisfactory answer. They all began gradually to assume a more cheerful expression and tone of voice; and at length one of them an old shrewd Indoda, exclaimed with considerable earnestness and evident satisfaction 'U yinkosi yami,' (You are my chief). At length Uzita said, 'We are now satisfied with you, sir, we know that you will treat us well; but what of the people you will bring with you?' Umpengula answered for them, and said, 'Our teacher has taught us that one good Lord made all men, and that it is our duty to live in amity with all whom He has made.' They said 'That is well; but perhaps you will be coming and begging food.' He again answered, with an expression of dignity,



A NATIVE VILLAGE

'Our teacher has taught us to work for our food, and not to beg.' There was an end to all further difficulty; they conversed freely and happily, and I requested Uzita to build me two huts."

The S.P.G. Report for 1861 describes the natives among whom Dr. Callaway came in 1858 to labour. ["They were] for the most part clad only in Kaffir clothing, consisting of two short skin aprons, one in front and one behind. In addition to this, some few had a dirty and tattered blanket round their shoulders, and some a ferocious head-dress in which they are said to look 'as if they had dipped their heads first in a tar-barrel and then in a feather bed.' . . .

"They lived in huts of a bee-hive shape covered with grass, and not more than six or seven feet high, with a hole for a door but no window or chimney, so that the smoke inside was almost suffocating for English visitors. Many of the men had four or five wives, and one had as many as twenty-seven children. Of useful arts they were grossly ignorant. They knew no better way of cultivating the ground than that of scratching it with a hoe."

While his huts were in course of construction, Dr. Callaway returned to Pietermaritzburg, and obtained permission to take up a grant of 3,000 acres at the locality fixed upon, which they decided to call Spring Vale; and after a delay of not more than a day or two he came back full of interest and eagerness in the prospect of his work. It was necessary first of all to build a dwelling for his own use. With Utyanje's help he set to work planning, measuring, digging, and

hammering, and in ten days they had set up a 'house,' primitive indeed, but answering every purpose as a temporary lodging. It was of wattle and daub walls 20 feet by 10, and had a thatched pole roof. The work, hard as it was, proved of immense value to him in giving him the practical knowledge necessary for teaching the natives who gathered round Spring Vale; they believed he "could do everything," and would therefore be a safe person to whom to confide the welfare of their souls as well as their bodies.

Writing in 1862 Dr. Callaway says, "One mimosa tree stands in front of the church [and] has been preserved as a memorial of the first service held at Spring Vale (February 21st, 1858). The grass round it was cut and mats spread, and three only joined in worship under that tree. . . . We could hardly have thought, as we sat alone and half sad in the wilderness on that Sunday, that in less than five years nearly a hundred would regularly assemble for Divine Service in a commodious building erected on the spot. May we not take courage and press forward?"

The exertions and privations which he was called to undergo during these intermediate five years would have been impossible for him a few years earlier, and nothing testifies so well to the improvement that the Natal climate had wrought on his health than the vigour which he was able to bring into his work. It was necessary for him to be in Pietermaritzburg from time to time, and in March of this year he had the satisfaction of marrying his Kaffir servant Umpengula to a native woman according to Christian rites, the first

native Christian marriage, as he believed, in the colony. On one of these journeys he had a narrow escape from drowning in the Umkomanzi River. While at Spring Vale he superintended and gave help with the building, made and carried out rules for his people's daily life, and held regular services which the natives soon began to attend, attracted at first by curiosity and afterwards by real interest.

When a suitable house was nearly ready for habitation, Dr. Callaway went to fetch his wife from Richmond, where she had been staying in his absence; and with her and the rest of the mission party he came back on the 17th of June to what was henceforth for many years "home." The little colony consisted of fourteen natives; Dr. and Mrs. Callaway and their adopted daughter, Jane Button; Miss Townsend, who had lived with them for some time at Pietermaritzburg and who was anxious to help in more direct missionary work; and a good and practical man who had been engaged by Dr. Callaway as "agricultural trainer" of the Kaffirs. He himself continued to hold the office of overseer in matters temporal as well as spiritual. "By being always ready to take a part himself in whatever he directed them to do,—by every now and then taking the implements out of their hands that he might show them the proper use of them, and how much might by continuous and judicious effort be achieved in a tithe of the time that they usually take; and also by placing constantly before their eyes the example of two or three steady, reliable workers

belonging to themselves, Christian Kaffirs,—he has by slow degrees succeeded in effecting a wondrous change in the habits and ideas of many of the young men around. When at an early period Mr. Scott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, agreed to place £200 a year at Dr. Callaway's disposal for the *industrial* training of the Kaffirs, he continually had great difficulty in getting as many men as he needed to do whatever work was in hand, and the quantity and quality of what was done was often a great trial and disappointment. But the primary object in view, the well-being and well-doing of the natives, was never hazarded by disgust or impatience on the part of the missionary. All learned to feel, more or less, that the keen strict eye over them was yet a kind and encouraging one, which took note of every weak endeavour to work aright, and strengthened every feeble arm to renewed, and sustained, and ultimately successful efforts. By slow degrees a sense of self-respect was imparted, and a spirit of emulation aroused; and even the outward bearing testifies to the increased manliness and intelligence of the people."[1]

MISS TOWNSEND *to* REV. E. HAWKINS,
*Secretary of the S.P.G.*

"PIETERMARITZBURG,
"*April* 2, 1858.

"DEAR SIR,

"You will, I feel sure, excuse my troubling you with a few words respecting Dr. Callaway, as you

[1] *Spring Vale Mission.*

would never hear from himself in what estimation he is held here and throughout the greater part of the colony. There are few places in it to which he has not been on some mission of mercy. He speaks to you of the kindly feeling always manifested towards him by the congregation of S. Andrew's and by the people of Pietermaritzburg generally, and of the kindnesses with which now on the eve of his departure they are loading him, as though there were no sufficient cause for the warmth and universality of such feelings and acts; and to us he is continually expressing his surprise at every fresh token of regard and affection. But it would be indeed surprising if one who has ever been the comforter, the sympathising friend and the efficient medical helper at some time or other of almost every individual in the place, who has been accessible to all at all times and under all circumstances, were not valued by all and dear to all. And such is indeed the fact. Amidst the most jarring elements and the constant strife of tongues, there is but one sentiment entertained of him by those of every shade of political and theological opinion. All arise up and call him blessed; all, or nearly all, defer to his good sense and sound judgment, and yield to his peace-making, loving spirit, and all seem to feel now as though they were losing one of the nearest and dearest of their own family circle. And amongst the poor Kaffirs he is, if it were possible, still more venerated and beloved. His unerring skill in relieving the sufferings and curing the diseases to which in many cases they have been martyrs so long, joined to his

prompt and never-failing sympathy, give him the strongest possible hold upon their hearts in the first instance, and predispose them to listen to the Good Tidings of great joy, which it is his delight in his Master's Name to make known to them.

"We do think and trust that his prospects at his future station beyond the Upper Umkomanzi are most cheering and encouraging. He has already secured the goodwill and co-operation of the wild Kaffirs on the place and around, and they are eager to give us all the warmest possible welcome. No doubt there will be many disappointments and discouragements there, as elsewhere, but Dr. Callaway's patience and perseverance under the most adverse influences and circumstances have ever been unwearied, nor will they fail him now. God grant that he may be privileged to begin in that wild land a good work which shall go on extending in an ever-widening circle, and bear fruit even in His own time.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"HENRIETTA TOWNSEND."

There were indeed innumerable difficulties to be encountered from all sides during these early years. "Scarcely anything has turned out as I expected," he wrote to a friend in England. "I had formed no gorgeous expectations, no enthusiastic visions of the future; indeed I am not sure that I was sanguine enough. I looked at missionary work, not with the vivid imaginings of a young and ardent convert, but with a judgment sobered by many years of bitter

conflict—how bitter at times none but God can tell. I had still very many things to learn; and I trust I am not above being taught, either by the advice, the example, or the errors of others. But as all my life long, so now, I must think and act for myself, and it may be by myself."

When they were at length settled at Spring Vale the work of the mission soon grew and prospered. There was an almost overwhelming amount of sin, superstition and ignorance to be combated, and the missionary found that he was able to do even more by personal intercourse with the natives than by Church-teaching.

*Diary.* "*July* 8, 1858. Two lads came to-day, each attended by a girl somewhat younger than himself. The girls were carrying all the burdens. I asked the young men why they did not help them; one of them replied, pointing with his finger as he spoke, 'She is my ox; and *she* is his.' From their very childhood the male is taught to look down upon the woman as his inferior and slave, and the woman is accustomed to submit.

"A few days ago two old women brought some thatching grass for sale, and Anne gave them some salt. . . . They danced round her, kissed her hand . . . and told her, they were her dogs! We should greatly mistake if we imagined that here was a humility which would readily submit itself to the moulding influences of Christian teaching. It is a degraded want of self-respect. They are tenacious enough of their habits and superstitions, and our 'dogs' only

when they think they can get anything by it. . . . I tell them that I do not wish them to be dogs; they are men, and as men have a holy impress made by the very finger of God upon their hearts . . . made by God with powers to know Him, to do His will and to be modelled in His image."

"*September* 10. . . A man from a neighbouring kraal came to work for me to-day. He returns to his home at night. This I think is a healthy state of things to be encouraged. It is not desirable that men should leave their homes, wives and families for months together. Their doing so is not to be regarded as a symptom of distress, as it is among the poorer classes in some parts of England and Ireland; for there is no such distress here, what few wants they have are readily supplied. But it is to be regarded as a symptom that there does not exist any strong bond of union between the man and his family; the marriage-bond is feeble, easily broken; the child's obedience to his parents very slight, and the hold of the parent upon the child frail. This people requires to be entirely regenerated—the Gospel alone is the remedy for the deep-seated evils of their social condition.

"*October* 9 . . . Wanting a servant, I told Udingezi that Mrs. Callaway would like to have a servant of that size, pointing to a young woman of marriageable age. His answer was an objection founded on the fact that she was one whom they wanted to buy cattle with. There is no doubt but that they speak of the transaction by which their daughters become wives as an act of sale."

In October, 1858, there was a comet which caused great consternation and wonderment among the Kaffirs, who came to Dr. Callaway for enlightenment. Satisfied on this head, they proceeded with further astronomical questions.

"Where does the earth end? What do you see when you come to the place where the sun rises? Are there two heavens, then, one above the other? Did any one ever get to the sun?" And finally, "I should like to have the magnet, to deceive the people and get a great many cows!"

By the autumn Spring Vale presented the appearance of a respectably-sized village. There was Dr. Callaway's own house, "made of wattle and daub; 42 feet long, 10 feet broad and 7 feet high; divided into four rooms, three bedrooms and one sitting-room, and with two little lean-to rooms, 6 feet wide, for stores, &c., at one end." There were also the long room of Dr. Callaway's own building, already mentioned, which was used as a store-room for timber, tools, &c.; a long oblong hut of his contrivance, consisting of one large room divided into two parts by a curtain, and used when no longer needed as a chapel as a guest-chamber for travellers; and the huts of the Kaffirs. They were also at work on the first temporary school-chapel—"a wattle and daub room, 24 feet by 12, 5 feet of which at the upper end were railed off for a chancel and raised nine inches; with a three-feet deep verandah in front, and narrow verandah rooms at the back and one side, used as surgery and bedroom."

The Kaffirs took an immense interest in the building of the little church. "A spirit of happiness and contentment, for the most part, pervades the station. The people have been inconvenienced both as regards their food and dwellings, but it is rarely that a murmur has been heard; and now that they are beginning to see the satisfactory results arising from steady industry, as plans which they could not understand are beginning to be developed, their quiet acquiescence in what we were doing has changed to an active, earnest co-operation." Within a few months they had begun to replace the wretched native huts by brick cottages. The necessary funds were derived partly from Government grants, partly (his own and his colleagues' incomes included) from grants from the S.P.G. and partly from the generosity of English friends. But till the end of his missionary life Dr. Callaway never had sufficient means to carry out his unlimited plans of enterprise.

Of the Kaffirs living at Spring Vale, five or six, who had come as part of Dr. Callaway's household, had been baptised already at Pietermaritzburg. There was no opportunity at present for Confirmation, but he had decided to admit them after due instruction to Holy Communion. The first baptism which took place at the mission station was that of Umpengula's child. The Kaffirs, whether desirous of Christian teaching or not, were fully impressed with the desirability of attaching themselves to a Christian missionary; many came for the purpose of learning the arts of agriculture, and others who had no wish to

learn themselves were anxious to have their children taught. On the other hand it occasionally happened that heathen parents brought the children in the hope that they would be taken off their hands, but were angry at their receiving a Christian education—for of course secular and religious teaching went hand in hand.

*Diary.* "*December* 19*th* [1858]. Mary has hired a little girl named Unomali. I had proposed to vaccinate her with the rest, but they thought it would be desirable to mention it to the father. To-day the old man came to take away his child. He did not wish to have her vaccinated; he did not understand it. He thought it was a medicine which when introduced into the arm had the power of making his child believe."

The first Christmas at Spring Vale was kept with due rejoicing. A few days' holiday was given, and on Christmas Day after the morning service a feast was held in the schoolroom, and presents given to all the Kaffirs on the station, Christians and heathens alike. "It was a very wet day. We have had a long drought, and the rain so far from diminishing our pleasure has added to it. Mary said to Jane (Miss Button), 'De people so happy, Missie; dey say God has covered de table with plenty of food, and given dem rain.' I fancy the heathen Kaffirs connected my bounty in some way or other with the rain."

Callaway's Kaffir studies had already started him on a new work—work taken up as it were by chance,

and of which at first he himself scarcely estimated the value.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, Upper Umkomanzi, December* 16, 1858. . . . It is of course uphill work, this labouring against the ignorance and deeply-rooted prejudice of a clever, shrewd and selfish people. . . . I have been very busy lately writing accounts, from the mouth of different Kaffirs, of their habits, traditions, belief, &c. Some of these are extremely interesting, and I think tend certainly towards the conclusion that the Kaffirs have degenerated from a much higher position intellectually and morally than they now hold. My object in writing these 'dictation lessons,' was simply with the view of improving my knowledge of their language; now I continue not only with that view, but for the intrinsic value of the information itself. I hope some day to be able to give some account of this people, such as will be quite new. Their doctors are, I believe, great villains, probably the descendants of some old *priesthood*, and retaining all the evil influence and cruel tyranny of priestcraft over the minds of the people. . . . They are our most formidable opponents, and are to be conquered, I fancy, by the slow process of a siege rather than by assault. One is tempted to long at times to see some more evident fruits of one's labours, and to doubt whether anything is being really effected by our poor instrumentality.

". . . . We have about twenty people settled with us; and when I look at their rough way of living and

their oddly-varied costumes (dirty and torn frequently, notwithstanding our constant endeavours to get them to cultivate habits of neatness and order) and compare them with ourselves, I think a stranger would not think them improved. The naked Kaffir with his bright-greased skin, his native dress consisting of a small apron round the hips, his beads and his sticks, is a far nicer-looking man than our half-civilised people, who dress, but—do not wash as they should. . . . But when I compare them with the other Kaffirs in relation to their daily habits—when I see them in school reading with interest the word of God, struggling to master enumeration or labouring to comprehend the mystery of carrying in addition, or coming and asking for a MS. book that they may keep notes (!)—I begin to feel sure that they have escaped heathendom and are progressing towards something not only better as regards their world but higher and holier."

Umpengula has been several times mentioned as a valuable worker, but it was not till they had been settled for some time at Spring Vale that Dr. Callaway began to see that there were qualities in him which raised him many degrees above the ordinary Kaffir. He had found him intelligent and industrious, and consistent in his daily life; and he now found, on calling him one morning into his study to give some assistance in the absence of the usual Zulu teacher, that Umpengula had a singular power of laying hold of truth, as well as a wide knowledge of the subtleties of his own language. The two qualities

combined to make him a most useful helper, first in the grammatical study of the language and afterwards in translations and in the collection of Zulu traditions. From that time he began to spend several hours almost daily in the doctor's study, to the mutual advantage, as will be seen hereafter, of doctor and native.

# CHAPTER VI

Spring Vale Church opened—Kaffir superstitions; the "Amatongo" and "Abatakati"—Party-spirit in Natal—Colonists and natives—Question of marriage between Christian and heathen natives.

THE little church was opened at New Year, 1859; with its chancel and simple fittings—the latter were gifts from English friends—it was a great improvement on the old schoolroom, which was now left free for its legitimate use. The congregation already averaged between forty and fifty, a number bearing, however, but little proportion to that of the people who were indirectly under Christian influence. Umaraule, a Kaffir chief of the district, came to Dr. Callaway for advice and assistance in his disputes with neighbouring potentates, and listened willingly to his reproofs and his teaching; too proud to renounce his own faith, he was yet fully prepared to allow his people to come to Spring Vale for instruction.

*Diary.* "*March*, 1859.—The Governor left us to-day; I accompanied him in the hopes of finding a road to the bush where I want to cut timber. It was a misty unpleasant morning. . . A great many Kaffirs followed us from mere curiosity. I wished to be quite sure of

the meaning of a phrase *Ukukatura ihlombe*, which I supposed to mean 'carried away by excitement,' and asked Umpengula its meaning; one of the men who was running by our side laughed and said, 'We are, for we are following you without being asked.'

"We halted at 4 p.m., the mist being so great that we could not be certain of our whereabouts. . . . In the water, saw some very curious animalculæ, which appeared to be green with a transparent centre in the form of a S. Andrew's cross. It is possible that time spent on the microscope would lead to many discoveries; but I have other work.

"Had a good night, sleeping alone in the dining-room tent. It is a hard bed the bare ground, but when one is tired one does not mind it much.

"*March 8th.* . . . Set off about 9. Our object was to head the Ixobo, but during the progress of the day we got entangled in its branches, and had to make in two places a road for the waggons to cross. It became quite clear to me that there would be no possibility of sending a waggon for timber by the road we were going; so I determined to return home to-morrow.

"On the top of a hill we saw two messengers who had arrived from Pietermaritzburg; they had brought the English letters, and mine with them. We were in a most exposed place, the sun looking down on us with fierce perpendicular rays, and not a single bush to be seen in any direction. I had a letter from John Morland, most kind and affectionate, giving me an

account of what they had collected for me—the total about £250. . . .

"[On the way home] I had a long talk with an old doctor, whom I met with three attendants and abundance of medicines, dried roots and green. They all professed to have unbounded confidence in their remedies, and, if we may believe their own account, no one ever dies who is treated by them.

"*March* 11.—Usetemba [one of his converts] came to me to complain that the Christian Kaffirs were harassed and treated unkindly by the heathen Kaffirs, who are engaged as labourers on the station. . . . I have endeavoured as much as possible to prevent a feeling of class springing up between Christian and heathen. There is very soon apparent a marked difference between them. . . . I had hoped that the influence of the Christians would be a leaven among the unbelieving, and that a good would result which could not be accomplished in any other way. But the time will possibly come when a separation must be made. They have different thoughts, wishes and pursuits—the heathen cannot be coerced to think and act as a Christian. I trust I shall be able to do what is right in the matter. I urged Usetemba to be patient and trustful, and to be careful not to give needless offence, yet to be firm in what is right."

Whether the "leavening" process was likely to succeed or not, Dr. Callaway's personal influence and tact at least rendered it possible in some cases to make the experiment. For instance, a young native girl,

Umatyingana, contrived against her parents' wishes to come to school, and one day asked permission to stay at Spring Vale altogether. Her mother interfered, and Dr. Callaway told the child that she must obey and return home; but the subsequent ill-treatment which she suffered at her mother's hands made the case a very hard one to deal with, and on her reappearance, instead of sending her back at once, he applied himself to the apparently hopeless task of influencing the parents. On inquiry it appeared that she did not "belong to" them at all. Her mother had married again, and as her stepfather had been too poor to pay all the cattle—the Ukulobola—to his wife's relations, he had given this girl in part payment. The owner accordingly sent to fetch her, saying that he was going to administer medicine (*i.e.* a dose which the native doctors gave to converts to rid them of their Christianity), but Dr. Callaway interfered, declared that she was under his protection, that he would if necessary be responsible for the Ukulobola, and that if further attempts were made to molest her he should bring the case before the authorities. With regard to the parents, he had appealed to their common sense, rather than to any higher motive, for the right management of the girl; and when he now sent her back to them they treated her kindly and made no objection to her returning to the mission station to be educated. In the end the mother herself came to see the child, and showed herself interested and impressed by all that was being done for her.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, March* 21, 1859. . . . I cannot say I expect numerous converts at present. They are so deeply steeped in absurd superstition, their daily habits are so low, their social life so debased, and their apparent worldly interest so wrapped up with the customs of their social life, that it is no easy matter to bring them even to listen to the word of the Gospel. There cannot be a doubt that we are influencing them in a variety of ways. Speaking to an old man a short time since upon some of the follies connected with their worship of the spirits of the dead, called Itongo, plural Amatongo, he said, 'But since you came here, we do not say the Itongo has looked upon us, but *the Lord*.' How much real sincerity there was in this remark, and how much of the Kaffir subtlety or politeness which makes him like at least to appear to resemble his superiors, I cannot say; but it is clear that he had exercised some amount of thought upon the subject, and had learnt to distinguish a myth from a reality. This at least is something. We endeavour to teach them the value of clothes, of improved agriculture, of using other edibles besides the mealie and amabele (a kind of corn); and to show them that we are really anxious to benefit and to raise them, in the hope that, seeing that, they will listen to that higher truth which we have especially come to proclaim. . . .

"I am getting on with the language; every day gives me increased strength. I am again going through Genesis, which I hope will soon be in a print-

able condition. It will not be perfect, after all the pains I have taken; it will be grammatical and intelligible to the Kaffir, and idiomatic to a certain extent. I have in my mind to complete this, Exodus, the four Gospels, and the Psalms. I have also already made considerable progress in translating the collects of the Prayer-book, with the Epistles and Gospels attached to them."

*Diary.* "*April* 1. Umaraule, a chief who lives about twenty miles distant, sent requesting me to come and see a sick man. . . . I found Umaraule at home; the patient was suffering from a chronic disease, promising little prospect of successful treatment under any circumstances, and none at all unless he became a resident at the station. They ascribed it to the influence of the Abatakati. I told them such diseases were common enough in England, where there were no Abatakati. This appeared to be a cause of astonishment, and a source of comfort to the patient, who appeared to feel that he had been befooled by the doctors.

"The Kaffirs trace all disease to injuries or to secret poisoning, and the inhabitants of the kraal look around for the Umtakati or poisoner. They do not proceed in such inquiries as we should; there is no investigation of evidence; no attempt to trace the poison in the food, or the means which any particular person has adopted to mix poison with it. But a few men are sent to a diviner or seer, and he gives or pretends to give them such information as is sufficient to lead them to suspect some one. The truth is that

they have fixed on some one before they set out, and the seer by artful questioning and suggestions obtains from the inquirer some hints which he repeats to them as an authoritative description of the Umtakati. This having been done, they go to their chief; and in the absence of a White Government he would call an assembly, at which the seer is present, *himself armed and his friends*, to protect them against any violence from the Umtakati or *his* friends; when he is publicly denounced as the author of the death about which the inquest is held. I presume from description that it is a very exciting assembly, and calculated to elicit anything but the truth. The seer has his suspicions; it is even probable that he has been directed by the chief or some other great man to point out some particular person, obnoxious either from his temper and habits or from his increasing power and wealth. The persons also among whom the death has occurred have their suspicions and are probably in communication with the seer. All the assembly have branches of trees, and with them they smite the ground whilst the seer describes the death of the deceased, the mode in which he has had poison administered. During the whole time he walks round the circle of men by which he is enclosed. As he approaches the victim he looks at him, perhaps inclines his head towards him with a searching gaze; the others also look at him with fierce suspicious eyes. He then begins to describe his person, and the intimation that he is the poisoner becomes more and more marked; he half points at him as he passes, as though

he were almost but not quite certain of the man. This is enough to make him fear his approaching fate ; he begins to tremble and to smite the ground with his branch with a less amount of decision ; and to join in the people's cries to have the suspected poisoner named with a less degree of energy. These signs are readily interpreted as evidences of guilt ; and towards the end of the day the seer and his people arm and the name is pronounced. . . . If the assembly agree with the seer, the proscribed poisoner is at once seized and killed together with such of his family as have been pronounced to have been his accomplices. In this way a chief gets rid of a too powerful subject—a neighbourhood of a troublesome kraal—a younger son of his father, mother, and the heirs to the property !"

On one occasion the supposed poisoner, Umzwazwa, who had been accused by the friends of the deceased without the formality of a "trial," came to Dr. Callaway for protection. The latter endeavoured to arbitrate ; but, as not unfrequently happens, the parties were only willing to submit to his decision if it was made entirely in their favour, and the case was therefore sent before the magistrate. The principal offender, Uzita, was sent to prison for three months, and those who had repeated the accusation or persecuted the "Abatakati" were sentenced to a fine of ten shillings each, or a month's imprisonment. But Umzwazwa, unfortunate man, went in terror of his life henceforth ; he firmly believed in witchcraft, and said, "I am dead—the people of Uzita have killed

me." The people would still suspect him, and try to bring him to account ; and to his fear was added that of the vengeance of the men who had been punished for accusing him. In the following year Umzwazwa died, and as the friends of his accusers had lately slaughtered a bullock it was argued that no further proof of foul play was needed—it had clearly been done to bring about his death. So strong was the belief in witchcraft that the dead man's family refused to stay in the neighbourhood, and removed to a kraal some miles away.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, June* 15, 1859. . . . From habit I have dated from home, but in reality I am at Pietermaritzburg ; I came here on Saturday that I might be present at the Church Council, and preach three sermons during the week. Indeed they have put pretty much upon me, and I shall preach, D.V., in all six times in eight days besides having one service with the Kaffirs. We are in a divided state here, but I trust things are improving. The bishop sent and asked me to deliver the sermon at the opening of the Council. I felt it a great responsibility laid upon me, but have determined to avoid party questions and to urge to mutual love. I am going to preach on 'Forbearing one another in love.' Some, I have no doubt, will think they see party spirit even there. . . . I endeavoured to maintain a strict neutrality, and succeeded in doing so for two or three years, getting thereby a little more credit for High-Church views

than I deserve. . . . The conduct of the ultra-High Church party here has at length driven me from my neutral ground, and I shall not hesitate to speak out on the questions of the day when it appears desirable. . . . But I prefer the quiet atmosphere of Spring Vale to the troubled air of religious controversy. . . .

"There is a feeling among the colonists of Natal which would very easily pass into a disposition to enslave. They leave their native place where an overstocked labour-market makes it difficult for men to live, and come into a country which promises very fair to the enterprise of capital and labour. There is apparently abundance of *hands;* but to get labour out of them is quite another question. . . . The white man is irritated when he sees these men apparently doing very little, yet coolly refusing to labour for him for money; he sees his cattle suffer, his harvests in danger of being ruined, and all this in the presence of an abundant supply of labour. . . . The colonists, many of them, speak as though they thought that all this question about labour could be settled at once and satisfactorily by a *law!* How are 8,000 widely scattered whites to compel 200,000 coloured to labour, against their will? The Kaffir has scarcely any necessities which he cannot readily supply by a small amount of labour; and if he is industrious and works hard he very soon makes for himself a position of actual wealth. I wonder what inducements the white man can offer to cause them to quit their present position for one resembling his own, so full of care, anxiety, and expense. . . . They see we are better

than they ; yet many of them cling with a kind of superstitious attachment to the past, and to their traditions and customs ; and that even after years of culture. I fear the absurd management of some of the colonists will sooner or later lead to a collision, and that then the Kaffir will retire before the white man, and seek in distant regions the peace, the liberty, and simplicity of his own native state. . . . I feel quite sure that the difficulties so many white people complain of in the management of their Kaffirs is the result of a fault in the management. There is no doubt an immense amount of patience required in many, perhaps in all instances, and they will not for generations do things as we like to see them done. The only way of meeting the difficulty is to learn their language or to teach them ours, and take pains with them as we should be obliged to do with a wild English peasant girl. . . . We have had a great addition to our numbers—the only objection one can feel is that they have come a little too fast for our means."

*To one of the Natal Clergy.*

"*Spring Vale, September* 20, 1859. . . . I quite agree with you that we have no right to sit in judgment on the natives as to the objects which induce a man to apply for baptism. We are bound, I think, to regard the application as arising from at least incipient faith, and to receive him accordingly into the list of catechumens. But we have no right to shut our eyes to facts which may teach us that the application is

made from some selfish or worldly object. I do not say that we should reject even such an application ; but that we should be very careful in the preparation for baptism of one making it, and keep him in suspense if need be rather than hasten him to the vows of baptism. My custom is to watch as much as possible those around me, that so observing their daily conduct I might judge of the effect of the Word preached. It has rarely happened that a person has first spoken to me of being baptised—it generally originates with myself. . . . But sometimes a question strikes a chord which has been already vibrating ; and if it does not, it sets thoughts in motion which sooner or later bring him to baptism.

"In preparing a person for baptism I take our baptismal service and explain it sentence by sentence. If [afterwards] I still have doubts as to his proficiency, I may repeat it, questioning rather than teaching. I find that it rarely happens that a Kaffir is satisfied till he has attained a considerable clearness of idea of what he is being taught."

The low social status of women among the Kaffirs was recognised by Dr. Callaway as one of the chief hindrances to his work. The burden of labour fell almost entirely on the women and children, and the idleness of the men induced a want of moral fibre which barred their progress in spiritual not less than in worldly things. From his example they had begun to appreciate the value and dignity of labour, and day by day the result grew more apparent in the Kaffir labourer's increasing intelligence and self-respect.

The number of men brought under Christian influence was thus larger than that of women, and it became a question how far intermarriage between Christian and heathen Kaffirs should be allowed. Dr. Callaway decided that as a rule it would not be wrong to allow a Christian to marry a heathen woman, otherwise many young men would be condemned to celibacy and thus exposed to temptation ; and at the same time he would in all probability use his superior influence to raise his wife to his own level. But the fact of the minority of Christian women gave no excuse for their marriage with the heathen, which if allowed might expose them to persecution from those in every way more powerful than themselves. One man, Utyanje, who had some time before applied for baptism, delayed to offer himself, making now one excuse, now another ; it was at last found that he was seeking a wife, and wished to bring her with him that they might be baptised together.

# CHAPTER VII

Illness at Pietermaritzburg—Recovery and return—The spider and the fly—Increasing responsibilities—Traditions and translations—Kaffir ideas of good and evil, and of God—Mission to Zululand—Christian and heathen ideas of death—The mission of the plough—"Medicine-men"—A flood.

IN September, 1859, Dr. Callaway received a summons to attend a patient in Pietermaritzburg, and as the case was supposed to be a dangerous one he made the journey, contrary to his usual custom, in one day. The fatigue of travelling and of the few days spent in town, added to a thorough drenching which he got coming back one night from the cathedral, brought on symptoms of illness which he nevertheless contrived for some time to ward off. During October he suffered from weakness and sleeplessness, and was occasionally obliged to give up the church services; but he struggled on till the middle of November, when Governor and Mrs. Scott, hearing of his ill-health, invited him to stay at Government House, in order that he might have the benefit of proper doctoring and nursing. The offer was accepted, and a light travelling-waggon was sent in which the journey was

made in four days, with all the care and comfort that was possible. But it proved altogether too much for him, and in two days after reaching Pietermaritzburg his illness became so alarming that his life was despaired of by the three doctors who attended him as well as by himself. The only method by which they could keep up his strength was by strong stimulants, and he rebelled at last, saying he did not wish to die drunk. And when one tried to reassure him by saying there was no great danger, he held out his wrist, saying, "Feel that, doctor, and tell me whether it isn't the arm of a dying man?"

For some days his life hung in the balance, and then came a change for the better, and a very gradual return to health.

Bishop Colenso and Dean Green showed him great kindness throughout his illness; but above all he felt deeply the loving care with which he was tended by his host and hostess, and which was to him a lifelong source of gratitude and happiness.

It was not till the end of January that a return to Spring Vale was possible. The journey thither was not as comfortable as one would think desirable for a convalescent, especially one night when a thunderstorm came on, just before they had to cross the Umkomanzi. "The biting of gnats, the weariness of excitement, the dreary darkness occasionally broken by the flashes of lightning, the dead silence broken by the thunder, and the pattering of the rain on our waggon-tent; besides our waggon being on the slope of a steep hill, and our feet being consequently a foot

or two lower than our heads ; all these things did not permit our having a very refreshing night." But the patient's strength had so far returned that he was none the worse for these discomforts, and on the third day of travelling they reached Spring Vale.

"As we were descending the hill towards our home the mist and rain cleared a little, and some of the people catching sight of us, the whole village turned out, and rushed out to meet us. The signal of our coming first reached us by the shout of one of the boys. . . . It was a touching meeting ; there were such warm, loving and earnest congratulations. We found that they had all intended to have gone to meet us, but the rain of the previous day had led them to imagine it quite impossible that we should arrive so soon. Nor could we have done so if we had stayed with the waggon, which did not reach home till Sunday" (three days later).

"I found in conversation with Udedizwa that the Kaffirs generally attributed my illness to witchcraft, exercised against me by the people of Uzita in revenge for the protection I had given Umzwazwa ; and that had I died the people of Uzita would have been regarded as guilty of my death ; and it would have been cited for many a day to come, as another instance of the deadly power of the wizard, that even a white man was not safe !"

There were great arrears of work to be made up after so long an interruption—it was four months since he had been really able to carry on his regular duties—and the months that followed were very busy

ones. He gave up henceforth all manual labour, for which there was now no real need, since many of the Kaffirs were sufficiently good workmen to be able with a little supervision to do all that was required in building or cultivation. They thought their dear Umfundisi[1] had made himself ill by working with them, and were anxious to show that they could manage everything without needing to expose him to any further risk. By Easter Sunday he had prepared six converts for baptism, and the Baptismal Service with its accompanying festival, which had been deferred from Christmas on account of his absence, was held now, with a service of thanksgiving for his recovery.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, March 26th,* 1860.—I have just made a curious and interesting discovery in natural history. . . . I have been aware for some time that there is a certain fly—probably of the wasp genus—which feeds on spiders. It boldly enters their webs, which seem to have no power to entangle it; the spider is in great alarm, and very soon becomes a prey to his agile, long-legged foe. . . . Last year I found, whilst the men were ploughing, a kind of cell with a lot of spiders in it, but had no idea of connecting this collection with the fly, merely thinking it an instance of gregarism in spiders. But a few days ago I found several holes stopped up with a white substance; and as the said holes were not such

[1] Teacher.

as should be stopped—one being in my writing-desk, for receiving the knob of the brass which fastens the drawer, another the mouth of a powder-flask, the other the mouth of my stethoscope, I took the liberty to unstop them, and was pleased to find again my old friends, the supposed gregarious spiders. But there was one thing which rather set me a-doubting; the spiders were not of the same size, nor apparently of the same kind. The day after, I was writing in my study when my attention was attracted by a loud buzzing, and looking up I observed a fly in the mouth of my stethoscope; and on shaking it out, found a diaphragm of white substance thrown across it, about an inch from the opening. I of course did not disturb it. The next day the nest was completed and covered in by a similar white substance, and during the day was visited by the fly, who appeared to be either putting a finishing stroke or two to his work, or to be examining into the safety of the structure. I now began to suspect that the cells contained a winter store of provisions. When this error was corrected by one of the cells becoming accidentally broken, and when its contents were poured out, to my great satisfaction I found not only spiders, but a white grub actually eating some of the spiders. Thus it is a store laid up for the offspring by the parent, of which we have already so many instances. The grub with his food is now in a pill-box. He has not lost his appetite by change of position, but is growing fat, and whenever I look at him, is eating. There are two things that require elucidation. How is it that the spiders, which are *not dead* but only

stupefied, are thus mesmerised or chloroformised ? and how is it they do not decay ? I will try to give you the result in my next. I may add, however, that the fly at work in my study is of a very dark green ; that caught at Pietermaritzburg was red. . . .

"[Dr. Livingstone] mentions a spider which he says he has observed sitting on a circular flat piece of web, but does not know what it is about. I have observed this disk of web again and again, and have further found out that it is *double*, and that the eggs of the spider are placed between the layers. I have a specimen which I intend to send to England. . . . I am continually seeing something worth observing and collecting, but have not the time to give my attention to it."

There were plenty of troubles and anxieties to be contended with ; to the expenses of his long illness was added the loss by lightning of several of his best draught oxen, and the same thunderstorm caused heavy damage to the wattle-and-daub mission house, which it became evident must soon be replaced by a more enduring structure. In 1860 the number of residents had increased to thirty-six, four of whom were children newly intrusted to the missionary's care ; he would never refuse to take them if he could help it, and their maintenance necessarily entailed a considerable expense which there were no regular funds to meet.

But the very multiplicity of his occupations prevented Dr. Callaway from looking despondently at the future. Teaching and preaching, doctoring (he was



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becoming as famous for his treatment of animals as for that of human beings), superintending his workmen, trying experiments in cultivation—all these cares more than fully occupied his time and thoughts. The success which was bound to follow such whole-hearted industry, and which, with rare exceptions, attended every branch of his work, was his daily encouragement, and perhaps caused too great a disregard to the limited means at command. He had always the sanguine belief that as the work was given, the necessary means would be found; and it proved a little embarrassing at times for those who had to find them. But as a matter of fact it was very seldom that the needful supplies did not arrive, sooner or later, and justify him in still further extending his labours.

In the midst of so many occupations the work of translating and transcribing still went on. "I have" (he writes on May 28th, 1860) "many hundred pages of Kaffir MSS., written at dictation at the mouth of different Kaffirs. They are tales, myths, customs, &c., and may some day be translated for my English friends' amusement. . . . I go over [this] carefully, write it out clearly, call the Kaffir who has told me the tale, or another, and get him to explain everything I cannot fully understand; the explanations are also written and appended to the paper. This is pure Kaffir, not adulterated by foreign idioms, and must become the basis of teaching. It is very different from the very best translations.

"I inclose for your amusement a curious specimen of a colonist's original poetry. It was written by a

man who bought eight young pigs of me, and was the note sent by the man who came for them!"

*Diary.* "*June* 17, *Sunday.*—The Kaffirs have two words, Unembeza and Ugovana, to express the opposing principles of good and evil, which are at work in the heart of man, among these savages as well as among Christians. *Unembeza* is very much like what we call conscience; it is the witness for good in a man, the principle which urges him to act in accordance with his supposition of what is right. *Ugovana* is the carnal mind, that which impels a man to act against the Divine law of right. I took up these two words, and pointed out to them that the existence of such words among them showed 'the work of the law written on their heart,' of which the word of God was the great expositor; that it was wanton, therefore, to separate themselves from the missionary by saying the Bible is the white man's law, but we have ours; the Gospel is good enough for him, but we do not want it. They proved by the use of these very words that, independently of the missionary, they had a sense of right and wrong—imperfect indeed, and in some instances defective and erroneous, but still there it was—at work within them, urging them to do justice, to avoid sin, to choose the good and to avoid the evil.

"*June* 18.—Rode with Jane to the new kraal of Uzita's people. They have chosen a beautiful site, but have so placed their huts that the first heavy rain will sweep through them. I pointed this out to them and said, 'Then your children will be ill, and some

will die, and you will look around you to find out an Umtakati.' Unsukusonke said, 'Oh no, we will not again look out for an Umtakati—we will obey Unembeza!'"

"*August* 3. . . . I spoke to [Umncuke] of his duty to God, and what he owed Him. He said, 'Our Lord is Unkulunkulu, yours is Udio. You pray to Him, we will pray to Unkulunkulu.' But I said, 'What do you say of Unkulunkulu? Do you not say He made all things? And we say of God, He made all things. There could not be two Creators of all things, could there? We worship Him who made all things, and ask you to worship Him and to become His.' He would not admit this reasoning, till I said 'What is there in the name of Unkulunkulu or Udio? let us speak of the Creator: He is One.' His mother, who was standing by . . . joined in, saying, 'Truly, He is One and not another; there are not two Creators.' I said, 'You know that by the white people I am called Callaway; the black people have given me another name, Umdvusela; am I not therefore the same person as before? Am I another person because I have another name?' He said, 'No, truly you are the same person.' 'So,' I replied, 'God the Creator is One, by how many different names soever He might be called.'

"*August* 4. . . . [Ujabisana] said, 'There are no such things as Amahlozi; I know now.' I said, 'I would not say that, Jabisana; I would rather say, you have mistaken their nature and power. What we call spirits you call Amatongo. When a man dies, there

goes out from him a spirit or Itongo ; but the spirits of the dead have not power to help us as you imagine. Don't give up the truth that there is a spirit within us, when you give up the fables with which you have surrounded the fact, which you believe, of man's having a spirit which does not die when the body dies.' He assented. I went on to say, 'Now I know so much about your belief, I am very anxious to point out to you how much of real truth there is in these traditions which you have received from the ancients ; and that these truths should have become obscured, altered, and mixed up with falsehoods and fables, is really no wonder ; such alterations must take place in all oral traditions. Men cannot possibly remember them correctly if they do not commit them to writing.' He was much struck with this, and turning to John, said, 'Yes, I see, it is because they had not a book that they have made so many blunders.' I said, 'You know you say that Unkulunkulu made all things, and yet you give him another name Umvelinganzi, which implies that he had an origin : whence then did he spring ?' 'I do not know.' 'If he had an origin, he originated from something having a previous existence ; he therefore could not have made all things. You say too he died, and that he was a man—the first man. Now here is a great truth and a great deal of fable. You acknowledge a Creator of all things ; but you say he had an origin, was a man and died, and no longer is able to help or to hear you. But what do we teach ? That our Creator was not man, had no origin, but an eternal being ; that He

did not die, cannot die ; that He is with us now, and helps and keeps us every day.'

"*August* 18.—Unomali's father was here to-day. . . . I asked him when [Unomali] was coming back again. He said he loved her too much to let her come back. I said 'Why? She gets nothing but good here ; and what kind of paternal love is that which does not like the child to get all the good she can ? The truth is, I suspect, you are afraid that if she comes here she will become a believer, and you may lose the *Ukulobola*. He said yes, he liked oxen, ten, twenty, thirty. 'Yes, more than you like your child, in fact. You say we shall eat your children ; but it is in reality you who eat them by buying cattle with your own flesh and blood.' . . . .

"There is so broad a gulf between the heathen Kaffir and the Christian mode of thought that it requires the utmost patience and tact to gain his ear at all. The Bible is to him a fearful kind of thing. He regards it as the Ubuti of the white teacher, whereby he is to be turned into another man, have all the springs of his natural enjoyment poisoned and his whole life made bitter. But speak to him from 'prophets of his own'—show him that underneath their tradition there is a wonderful substratum of truth—show that their own ancients knew more than they, and that it is clear that traditions orally received have lost much in transmission and had much added to them ; you are then meeting them on their own ground ; they hear words and thoughts to which they are accustomed made standing points from which to

proceed to make known to them higher and holier truths."

It was no little help to the teacher that his servant Umpengula, who had already shown himself one of the steadiest characters and best workmen among the natives in Spring Vale, was thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit, and would talk to the men with whom he worked or traded of the "good news" which his master had come to teach. Knowing his kinsmen's language and mode of thought he had an advantage which even Dr. Callaway, with all his study, could not have; and perhaps the help which this man gave suggested to Callaway's mind the idea which henceforth gained an ever stronger hold upon him—that Christianity could hardly take firm root in the colony till it could be propagated by native teachers. At present that prospect was far distant: he knew that it would take years to manufacture his raw material into educated, well-trained clergymen, and that it could only be done by getting hold of the children and giving them a thorough training, removing them as far as possible from the evil influence of their heathen neighbours.

During the past year Bishop Colenso had spoken several times to Dr. Callaway on the feasibility of starting a mission in Zululand. There was especial need for evangelisation in the great tract of country stretching to the north and west of Natal; and the bishop, in laying his plans for the starting of such a mission, looked to Dr. Callaway as likely to be most helpful. "He is the only one of my missionaries pro-

ficient in the [Zulu] language," he wrote to the Secretary of the S.P.G. The success he had met with at Spring Vale, and the experience he had gained there, made him the fittest man to be chosen to undertake the work ; but on the other hand he was himself loth to start afresh on new ground just as his Spring Vale labours were beginning to repay him, and he was very thankful when after much debate it was decided that Mr. Robertson, who had been in the colony rather longer than himself, should take up the work. Callaway's health would probably have suffered if he had had to undergo again the hardships which had attended the settlement at Spring Vale ; and the Kaffirs were happily advancing beyond the stage when, as he said, they "could admire and understand only *physical* qualities and mechanical knowledge." They were learning to appreciate intellectual worth, and further to grasp the idea of the value of justice and truth and holiness. Physical labour had been throughout only a means by which higher things were to be taught ; and the time was coming when the teacher might lay it aside to give all his strength to the harder work of spiritual training.

The guiding of his wayward "children" was a far harder task than the guiding of the plough, and the building up of their characters than house-building. "It is a constant labour," he writes, "to keep those right who have entered the narrow way, and to induce those who are unbelievers to enter."

*Diary.* "*September 9th*, 1860.—One of the laws of Unkulunkulu transmitted by oral tradition is that the

husband may beat his wife. And in their thoroughly heathen state such a beating sometimes takes place, and the wife sometimes bears it, sometimes leaves. Thus Usoguja beat his wife, by giving her a slight blow" (she had previously half bitten his finger off) "and she left him at once and has not yet returned, and it is said she has become the wife of another man. Such is the sacredness of marriage among the Kaffirs!

"*October* 1*st.*—John's little girl, Annie, *æt.* about seven months, was taken ill last Tuesday, and died on Friday. . . . The effect of Christianity is not perhaps more strikingly seen than in the difference with which the Christian and heathen Kaffirs contemplate death: the latter with a loud wailing of 'Maye, maye,' which is repeated at the arrival of all fresh visitors, and they as they approach the kraal where the death has taken place will themselves take up the wail, and the sound extends far and wide over the surrounding hills. But with John and Elizabeth there was the silent expression of a deeply-wounded but submissive heart; the tears flowed, but not as of those who are without hope. . . . As I spoke a few words of comfort [John] assented at once with a choked and half-sobbing utterance. They did not like the body to remain in their cottage during the night. It is their custom to bury immediately. It was therefore taken into the church, and when placed in its coffin and nicely laid out all the people liked to come and see it. Many of the heathen also came, and as they looked on the Christian baby, looking rather asleep than dead, they

saw what possibly they never saw before, that the recollection of joy may linger around the memory of the grave. Some expressed themselves as pleased and surprised at seeing the care we bestowed on the body. We have not yet had any place marked out as a graveyard, this being the first death amongst us. We therefore dug its grave within the enclosure of our garden, and then the interment took place. . . . I believe every person in the village of every age, and some from neighbouring kraals, attended. Little Johnny did not appear in the least degree to comprehend death. When taken into the church to see his sister before nailing down the coffin, he looked and laughed and said 'Annie,' and then 'She is asleep.'

"*October 2nd.*—Perhaps nothing, short of a real persuasion of the truth of the Gospel, will have so great a power to break down the miserable system of polygamy as the plough. [The Kaffirs] purchase women, whom we call their wives, that they may have plenty of food and a large number of friends. The plough is a cheaper producer to them than a wife. They can purchase a plough with two oxen; eight more will enable them to break up the first year, and two after, when the ground has been already broken. They give from ten to fifteen oxen for one wife! And must needs for years keep themselves poor by purchasing others. . . . The false system works nothing but evil, and among the rest a want of prosperity, and inability to press forward on the road of healthy progress and elevation of character."

Twenty head of cattle was sometimes given for a wife, who was then set to dig, and beaten if she did not do it fast enough.

Apart from the trouble which the "Umtakati" superstition caused in its strong hold on the Kaffir mind, Dr. Callaway was sorely tried by the native doctors and their constant interference with his treatment. It was evident to him that they had some powerful remedies, and he was anxious to find out how much they really did know, and what part faith-healing might play in their successes. He contrived to gain the goodwill of "a celebrated Doctor of Medicine" so far that the man brought him a patient, and listened while Callaway explained the nature of the disease. "He was evidently disposed to be communicative afterwards. He saw a turkey-cock and asked its value, adding, it was a bird to make *Umsiji* from. Umsiji is a charcoal produced by burning animal remains—large birds, snakes, tigers, &c. They have great faith in this as a remedy They sacrifice and rub it into the cuts. . . . He had evidently never seen such a bird before, yet he examined it as a medical connoisseur and [expressed ?] himself with the utmost confidence in the remedial power to be obtained from such and such parts."

These were all so many difficulties to be fought with and conquered; and encouragement was not wanting either from outsiders or from his own experience.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, November* 1*st*, 1860.—I have never had, as you appear to think from your letter, any fixed idea of returning to England even for a season. I clearly should not only not be justified in incurring such an expense, but my work here would also suffer. Nothing but a clear necessity must take me to England. . . . I believe Africa is my future home. I have not the least shadow of the shadow of a wish to leave my work, to return to the country of my birth and education to reside there. I should like to visit you, to interest English people in mission work, to try to get means for more vigorous efforts, and to qualify myself for the great labour of evangelising and civilising the native races here. . . ."

*Diary.* "*November* 25*th.*—There has been a great deal of rain lately, and our little river has again and again filled to its highest banks. . . . We can rarely see the waterfall in the height of its beauty, for when the river is highest the grass is thoroughly saturated, and numerous little watercourses usually dry are converted into streams. It requires the enthusiasm of a new-comer and the power of novelty to tempt one to sally out for the sight. But to-day, after a warm morning and sultry afternoon which betokened an evening storm, just before the time for chiming the evening service the tempest began; the rain came down in torrents, the ground already saturated could take in no more, and the river not only filled but

overflowed its banks, rushing across the flat below the house like a large river. . . . I was called to go into the verandah of the church. There I saw a splendid sight; it was moonlight, dimmed by clouds; at the foot of the opposite hill, and winding around to [within] a hundred and fifty yards of our house, the swollen river could be seen rolling its turbid course; not roaring however as it does sometimes—it was too deep for that—rushing violently along, its wavelets sparkling with white foam. The people in the upper part of the village were running through the rain to reach John's cottage, which with William's hut is on the river's bank below us. . . . I thought it best to go and look after them myself, for they have little or no judgment, and will often do very silly things in times of emergency. . . . I set out, but soon found that I had to wade through water ankle-deep. . . . As we proceeded the evil increased; the ditch behind the kraals was full and overflowing, and but for a trench I made yesterday to divert the water from the back to the side of the kraal the buildings would have suffered considerably. . . . I satisfied myself and pointed out to the people that there was no apprehension. As we returned we met John at the corner looking the picture of merriment and content. . . . At this point [the sight] was very beautiful—islands were formed here and there of greater or less extent, and trees just raised their heads above the water. The people said 'The Umkomanzi has come here,' and in truth it looked a river as big as the Umkomanzi—looking up the valley, the streamlet which proceeds

from it, and which is fordable at almost every point, had also swelled into a broad and deep and foaming sheet of water. . . . A large fire-fly, like a star, was disporting itself over the water. Altogether it was as beautiful a scene as I have witnessed in South Africa."

# CHAPTER VIII

Bishop Colenso's books and their reception in England and Natal—His "deposition"—Consecration of Macrorie—Callaway's attitude—Personal differences—Refuses to attach himself to either party—Submits under protest to Macrorie's jurisdiction—Diocesan Synod of 1870—Callaway's views on authority, on the marrying of divorced persons, on universalism.

THE twelve years that followed, though full of work and of grave anxiety, were marked by few important events; and it seems best therefore to set aside strict chronological sequence and to class together the subjects which during this time principally occupied Dr. Callaway's mind. Three dates may be given by way of land-marks:—(1) The starting of a new mission-station at "Highflats," an offshoot from Spring Vale, in 1863; (2) The consecration of Macrorie as Bishop at Capetown in 1869; and (3) The establishment in 1871 of a mission in Griqualand, which was called Clydesdale, and which to a certain extent took the place of Spring Vale as a missionary centre.

The most important of Dr. Callaway's work, and that to which he would fain have devoted himself exclusively, was, of course, the education—Christianisa

tion—of his native flock. But it was impossible to make any real progress without sometimes coming into collision with the work which was being done by other missionaries in the country, and Callaway found himself—for this reason if for no other—drawn into taking a conspicuous part in the controversies which were already beginning to trouble the Church in South Africa.

No one would wish to read here a detailed account of the well-worn "Colenso controversy," but it will perhaps be as well to give in as few words as possible the main facts, in order that Dr. Callaway's attitude in the matter may be understood.

In 1860 Bishop Colenso had published his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, in which he put forward certain views, as to the doctrine of the Atonement and the question of eternal punishment, at variance with the then generally received opinions of orthodox Churchmen. Almost at the same time appeared the volume of *Essays and Reviews*, which raised widespread alarm and suspicion; and the publication two years later of Colenso's book *on the Pentateuch*, called forth a universal outcry. It attacked the belief in "verbal inspiration," and was looked upon by many as striking at the very root of the Christian faith.

The anger and alarm thus excited was naturally at its highest in and around Natal. Bishop Colenso, and the Metropolitan, Bishop Gray of Capetown, were both in England at the time; but the latter returned to his diocese and summoned Colenso to appear

before him at Capetown to answer to the charge of heresy. Colenso remained in England, but sent a representative, Dr. Bleek, to enter a protest against the illegality of the whole proceeding.

The Court met in November, 1863, and Bishop Gray, supported by Bishops Cotterill of Grahamstown, and Twells of the Orange River Free State, condemned the obnoxious books and "deposed" Dr. Colenso from his episcopal office. But during this controversy another case had been tried in Capetown which had considerable bearing on this. Bishop Gray had "deprived" one of his clergy for contumacy in a theological dispute. The latter had appealed to the Privy Council, who annulled the deprivation on the ground that the letters patent held by Bishop Gray having been received in 1853 were of no value, inasmuch as the Cape Government, which had been created three years previously, had sole authority to sanction them.

Dr. Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, and judgment was given in his favour on similar grounds; Bishop Gray, it was said, had no authority by his letters patent to act as he had done. But Bishop Gray was by no means daunted. He claimed under any circumstances *spiritual* jurisdiction over the South African bishops, and when Dr. Colenso rejected his claims and returned to his work at Natal, Bishop Gray launched against him the sentence of excommunication. Colenso treated this, as he had done the deprivation, as a mere *brutum fulmen*, and after waiting for several months, proceeded through the Civil Courts to eject from their benefices the Natal

clergy who treated him as excommunicate. Thus a schism was created which is not even yet fully healed.

In England, too, the controversy was hot. The greater number of the clergy, no doubt, were on the side of Bishop Gray, but there was a large and influential minority who felt not only that he had assumed powers which the law did not give him, but that some of the grounds on which he had condemned Colenso were theologically untenable. It was not merely those clergy who might be supposed to agree with Colenso's views,—they were few—but calm judges like the Archbishop of York (Thomson), the Bishop of London (Tait), Peterborough (Jeune), St. David's (Thirlwall), Ely (Harold Browne), Lincoln (Jackson), who felt compelled to refuse what Bishop Gray somewhat peremptorily called on them to do, namely, to ratify his sentence.

Nevertheless, being supported by his friends, he was determined to carry his point. The Rev. W. J. Butler, Vicar of Wantage, on his recommendation was elected bishop by the Natal clergy, but after much hesitation declined the see, by the advice of Archbishop Longley and Bishop Wilberforce. The former of these prelates expressed himself most firmly and uncompromisingly as to the mischievous character of Dr. Colenso's books, but he also saw clearly that the peace of the Church would be endangered by rashness. And when at length Bishop Gray secured his new bishop in the person of the Rev. W. K. Macrorie, and the more ardent of Dr. Colenso's opponents were eager, as Bishop Gray was, to have the

consecration in England, the Archbishop pronounced against it, and was supported by his suffragans. They saw that grave confusion must follow such a step. In the end, after many delays, Mr. Macrorie was consecrated at Capetown on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, 1867.

We have seen that Callaway had undertaken missionary work under Bishop Colenso, and had at first attached himself warmly to him, believing that in essentials they were in full accord. He had afterwards discovered that they had many points of disagreement which it was impossible to bridge over without to a great extent hindering his own work. The difficulty had not diminished with his removal from the immediate scene of disturbance. He was troubled with the bishop's Scripture translations; for some time his had been the only Bible in Kaffir, and Dr. Callaway's own work of translation was much hindered by the innumerable calls upon his time. To give one instance of the danger he dreaded: "The Word *was made Flesh*" was translated "became a mere man"; and in conversation Callaway ascertained, as he believed, that the bishop had not made a mistake in the language, but had used the words as a distinct assertion of his own belief. Callaway was, however, determined that a difference in theological opinion should not interfere with the respect he owed to one set over him by the Church; he was "bound," he said, "to support him *as bishop*, and to oppose the partisan spirit which was causing him trouble." This had begun as early as

1858 (the "Unkulunkulu" difficulty earlier still), and, far from healing, the division widened as time went on. The bishop's books were, perhaps, as much disliked by Callaway as by any one; but he recognised the fact that the opposition to them was to a great extent raised by men who had not thoroughly studied the questions at issue, and whom it would have been easy for the bishop to silence. The following letter shows what position he himself held with regard to Colenso's teaching.

"*October* 20, 1861. . . . The clergy for the most part . . . . have their attention fixed on the probable non-eternity of punishment. . . . Who would not wish that there may be a disciplining process going on in the punishment after death, which should issue in the restoration of all things not only to a constrained obedience to the power of the Almighty, but to willing, loving allegiance to Eternal Love? I, for one, should be glad to believe in such a doctrine, and at any rate it is on the side of what appears to us human creatures the lovely part of the Divine character. I say *appears*, for what really do we know on the question? Punishment may be, and probably is, as great an exhibition of love as forgiveness. But men are apt to talk of such questions as though they are better acquainted with the Infinity of the Godhead than any one is or can be even with the most finite of creatures. Erroneous on this question, the bishop's opinions, I believe, are subversive of Christianity in others. While he says a great deal about grace, and the Son of God, he does not believe in grace as we believe, neither does

he make the Son of God the Mediator as He is revealed in Holy Scripture. He would have us stretch over Him and reach the Father without Him. . . . When one reads the book, one cannot help asking of what use Christianity, the Bible, the Church, or Christian ministers are? And, for one, if I could believe it true, I should give up missionary work and preaching; it would appear a useless work of supererogation, and possibly a positive interference with God in His work and a hindrance in the way of salvation."

In the summer of 1862 a more personal difference arose between Dr. Callaway and the bishop. The former had on his own responsibility, and with his own money, "taken up" the grant of the land on which Spring Vale stood; the sum granted by Government had then been employed for purposes of cultivation, building, &c., which Dr. Callaway felt was the best possible means of training the Kaffir population. As this public income was never large enough to carry out his manifold schemes of improvement, he had always spent as much of his own private income as could be spared from private needs towards making up the deficiency.

Bishop Colenso now (in the summer of 1862) objected to this system, which he said was regarded with suspicion by Natal colonists; and requested that Callaway should give up the land to the control of Government. Callaway believed that the bishop had no right thus to dictate to his clergy in private matters, and he thought too that the request was unjust, since he had never derived any personal profit from this land

investment; and he was still more loth to resign his claim, as he believed the conditions under which Government would carry on the work would not be so favourable to the growth of the mission as his own methods. On the other hand, there was to be considered the harm that might be done to the people if he set himself in opposition to the bishop; and to avoid schism he consented to resign all claim to half the land (on which he had spent in all £900) retaining the rest, with his own cottage, as personal property. It was done as a matter of policy, and seems to have left a soreness in his mind which the bishop's later acts did not tend to heal.

Callaway withdrew as far as possible in the years immediately following from the agitation that troubled the Church. His letters show nevertheless that he was watching with deepest interest a strife of such vital importance to his own life.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale. May 9th*, 1868. . . . There is a great deal that is terribly false in the theology of the day. It must be shaken before it can be corrected. It sometimes puzzles me how some of the things I read in books could ever get into people's heads; much more how they could ever delude themselves with the notion that they got them from the Bible. I tell you candidly I do not believe the ultra-High Church party, represented by our good but mistaken Metropolitan, is going to correct these faults. Neither

do I believe that Ritualism will do it. We want more reality—inward reality,—not more external ceremony ; and I do not believe the external ritual however much extended will lead to this reality which is so much needed. Colenso has stirred up the Augean stable ; and it may be that the streams of scepticism such as he is occasioning may help to clear out the accumulated filth of ages ; but as these streams carry away the filth they too will go with it, and we may hope leave Christ's Church somewhat purer."

*To the same.*

"*Spring Vale, August* 1*st*, 1868. . . . There are some indications that an attempt will be made to force [me] to side with Capetown, or to have my missionary income withdrawn. With my present feelings I should accept the latter with all the consequences. And if it is still God's will that I should carry on His work at this place, or in the way I am at present carrying it on, He will provide me means. . . .

"I believe Colenso's conduct has been much misrepresented. And it is this misrepresentation which, looking at what is passing on around me, appears to me like intentional lying, or that kind of gross exaggeration and mis-statement of facts which is just as mischievous, and if made simply from prejudice and carelessness involves just as much responsibility, that disgusts me with the Natal Cape party. Had Colenso on his return been met by the calm firmness

of Christian men; had no wrong-headed opposition been made to his legal position; had the party opposed to him not carried out in a very offensive way, the principle of putting the Church—or rather their own notions—above the law;—Colenso would have taken no action against any clergyman or congregation in Natal. . . . There are several perfectly orthodox clergymen who *act with him;* that is, they refuse to acknowledge his doctrines, actually preach against them and speak against them, but acknowledge his legal position until he has been removed by competent authority. These are denounced by the opposite party just as much as Colenso himself, and everything [done ?] to damage their private and public character.

". . . I am not afraid of free thought, not even such free thought as Colenso's. It will be but a means eventually of sifting out precious grains of golden truth which are hid beneath the accumulated rubbish of conventionality and tradition. But I am afraid of the tendency of the opposite party; and there are two or three points in which I feel I could never agree with them. (1) The position of the priest. . . . (2) The confessional. . . . (3) The eucharistic views. . . . Do you think that if I were now to separate, and identify myself with this party, and then spoke out on these three evils as I should speak out, that they would have ears to hear, or that they would not look upon me as being as much a heretic as Colenso? . . . If I thought as Colenso, I must take my stand outside the Church, and bow all the powers of my mind

to root out from God's fair earth so vile a superstition. For to my mind if Colenso is true, Christianity is the greatest farce, the greatest lie that has ever captivated and deceived mankind. These and such like thoughts terribly trouble me. I hate religious controversy. It is the food of irreligious minds, and the destruction of the simple. And I see clearly that there is a higher and holier faith than that which separates us, a higher and holier conception of Christianity than the generality of men even imagine. I am simply sitting still to see what God will do. I feel that I am utterly unable to decide on any line of conduct for myself at present. All I can do is to work and wait. The time may come when I shall have to take action, and then I shall have sufficient light and strength to act."

*To the same.*

"*Spring Vale, September* 22, 1868. . . . I do not at all like the action of Convocation. It is arbitrary and founded on very dangerous principles which will work great evil, not being, as it seems to me, founded on truth and equity. London alone appears to me to have a correct appreciation of the case . . . .

"Suppose that I or any other person should think it our duty, in accordance with our ordination vows, to strive to drive away what we regard as the false and erroneous teaching of the party which in Natal is acting against Colenso, what is to be our protection

against the same party? what is to prevent their setting up their wills and private judgments over and above law, and casting us out?"

The Capetown party endeavoured to secure Callaway to their own side by representing to him that if he did not accept Bishop Macrorie the S.P.G. would probably withdraw his income. "Let them!" he said. It was not such arguments as this that would draw him; and indeed, with his many friends in England and Natal there was little likelihood that he would ever have been left wholly without the means of carrying on his work, though of course such a proceeding would have seriously crippled him.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, March* 3, 1869. . . . I quite agree with what you say as to the want of what I call the 'judicial sense' in a body of ecclesiastics. We could not have a more striking instance of it than in their conduct in the Colenso case. They abuse schismatics, and put down schism among the deadly sins, 'the rending of the body of Christ.' And yet when by ordinary actions of law they cannot get rid of an erring brother, they at once create a schism. . . . They assert their oneness with our Church while they refuse to abide by her laws, by those very laws which were in existence when they accepted high office in her ranks. About three weeks ago Macrorie reached Natal, and at the same time I received a letter from

[the Bishop of] Capetown informing me of his consecration at Capetown, and expressing a hope that I should at once be able to accept him as bishop, as now was the time which must finally determine our relations to each other for the future; and at the same time telling me, as a matter which 'concerned me,' that the S.P.G. had written to him to [put?] their missionaries in Natal under him. The letter was a very kind one, but unmistakably points out two things:—(1) If I do not acknowledge Macrorie I break with the Metropolitan; (2) If I do not accept him I break with the S.P.G. . . .

"Then came a letter from Archdeacon Fearne giving me official notification in the name of the Metropolitan that he has placed me as one of the S.P.G. missionaries under the 'episcopal superintendence' of Macrorie. . . . I wrote at once to Macrorie officially notifying him of the receipt of these letters; and telling him, 'I heartily wish I could accept the position thus thrust upon me. But I do not see how I can accept the results of the acts of a party in the Church, without at the same time committing myself to principles which I have all along strenuously opposed, and without committing myself besides to an unknown future.' At the same time telling him I am ready to co-operate with him in anything that does not involve my recognition of the schism which has been effected in Natal, and offering to meet him to discuss matters with him. . . .

"At the same time as the above letters I got one also from Colenso, very kind and very affable, telling

me that the case of appeal against his judgment in the matter of the Dean of Pietermaritzburg and other clergymen had been abandoned by them ; and that he intends to fill up the vacant places in the cathedral. What this means I can pretty well guess, he would like to get me to Pietermaritzburg. But I have written, my judgment in the matter has not altered since I last wrote to him, and offering to resign my canonry if my retention of it interferes with his plans and wishes.

"Then a circular address to the Archbishop of Canterbury [Tait] comes from Archdeacon Gray for my signature ; which, after complaining of the intrusive bishop, goes on to say, 'they do not feel themselves called upon to sit in judgment on the opinions of the Bishop of Natal, or [to say] whether they are legally tenable by a clergyman of the Church of England or not.'

"To this I reply that I could not sign such a document, because I thought it my duty to sit in judgment on said opinions, and have really done so and formed a definite conclusion, as I suppose most clergymen have. I could not therefore sign it without affectation. That whether *legally* tenable or not, I felt satisfied they are not *morally* tenable. That I am willing to co-operate with them to get the case tried before a proper court ; but if that court determined such opinions were legally tenable in our Church I should quit the Church at once."

*To the* REV. EDM. VENABLES.

"*Spring Vale, February 22nd*, 1869. . . . One's heart does indeed recoil from some of [Colenso's] doctrines. . . . On the other hand there are some views he advocates, especially on the universal love of our Heavenly Father, and the importance and duty of critical and scientific investigation, with which I entirely agree. . . . . Then his opponents have not acted a very Christian part. . . . I believe that their miserable narrow-mindedness and party spirit have done more harm in Natal than Colenso's heresies. There need not have been a schism. . . . It is not all the Metropolitans in the world, nor all the Convocations in the world, nor even a General Council, that can make the movement against Colenso in Natal anything but a schismatic movement."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*March 8th.* [I have received] a letter from Colenso which seems to say two things—(1) Resign your canonry. (2) Do not officiate as a Church of England minister in Natal if you cannot acknowledge my legal position. He has, I believe, no power to command me to cease to officiate as a clergyman of the Church of England except in buildings over which he has control as a minister [?]. This is all the court here has determined. I believe he can do nothing here, for remarkably enough, contrary to my wish and frequent efforts to make it otherwise, all Church property here

is my *private property*. . . . I have therefore written to him, telling him, that (1) I understand him to wish me to resign my canonry, and that (2) he interdicts me from officiating in any building over which he has any control, and that I shall respect his wish in both cases."

A few weeks later, April 13th, Dr. Callaway wrote to the secretary of the S.P.G. to say that after much anxious thought he had decided to defer to their wish rather than work in opposition to them and to his Metropolitan; he would therefore submit to the jurisdiction of Bishop Macrorie. But he wished it to be understood that his judgment on the matter remained unaltered. Having once declared his allegiance he henceforth devoted himself entirely to his new head. Bishop Macrorie, in writing home to the S.P.G. after the holding of his first Diocesan Synod (June, 1869) says, "Dr. Callaway was an immense comfort and blessing; he is working most heartily with me, and the universal respect in which he is held throughout the colony will tend to win respect for the cause to which he has attached himself."

In many ways the change was for the better, at least in as far as it restored peace to the agitated Church in South Africa; but it did not remove all difficulties. The portion of land which Dr. Callaway had decided to make over to the Church had not yet been transferred, and now the question arose, in whose name was the transaction to be carried out? Legally Colenso was still head of the Natal diocese, but it was useless to give property in trust for the Church, into

the hands of a man who would in fact have no power to deal with it.

The great danger which now seemed to threaten Natal was the want of cohesion among the clergy, a tendency to strike out individual lines for themselves rather than act in perfect unison with a bishop whose position was at least not wholly secure. The advance of ritual in Pietermaritzburg was greatly disliked by most of the laity and by Callaway himself, whose strong High Church opinions were too conservative to admit a "fancy religion of emotion and taste," as he called it; "fit for women and children, and effeminate men—I mean fit to *please* them; whether it does them any real good I cannot say." And he feared that the indifference manifested by these clergy to public opinion would lead to much mischief, if not to complete alienation from the body of the Church.

At the Diocesan Synod held at Pietermaritzburg in June, 1870, Dr. Callaway took the opportunity of stating clearly his views on many matters of Church discipline. The subject under discussion was the "Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa," which Dr. Callaway declared himself willing to *accept*, though he could not approve of them. And he went on to state his reasons.

"I saw that by [refusing to accept them] I should be acting in direct opposition to the principle by which ever since coming to this diocese I have attempted to guide myself. That principle is this,—If there be anything wrong in the body with which I am con-

nected, the proper course to pursue is, not to separate myself from that body, but to endeavour by all constitutional means to remove that which I think to be objectionable. I think the only correct course for us to take is to accept [the Constitution] as it were provisionally, and in the meantime take steps to correct what appears to be either wanting or erroneous. . . .

"I will say at once that the chief objection I feel to them is the spirit which pervades the whole . . . By these canons the inferior clergy alone are really affected; almost all the laws have reference to them, are intended to take cognizance of them, and to punish them if they offend. And they stand between these two powers, the Episcopate and the Laity, and are, as it appears to me, in danger of being crushed between them. The spirit that pervades this document is that of episcopal absolution. The bishops are everything; the inferior clergy and laymen are nothing; but the laymen have a way of escape and of self-assertion, clergy have not. . . .

"On page 2, paragraph 5, I find the following words, 'The rightful authority of the episcopate in matters of faith and doctrine.' . . . What is this *rightful* authority? It has been said that a South African waggon with twelve oxen can be driven through an adjective; and surely that may be done with this word *rightful*. . . . But in looking over the newspaper accounts of the Provincial Synod I find in these words what [it is that] is probably meant—'Authoritatively defining and pronouncing on questions of faith belongs essentially to the episcopate of the Church.' For one

I cannot accept this. . . . I maintain, and believe that I am maintaining the teaching of our Church, that such authority does not reside in the episcopate by itself, but that above the episcopate there is a greater power—the whole body of the Church.

"I take it that at Capetown there were found the same difficulties as have been found in Ireland; the bishops claiming an absolute authority, and the other members of the body demurring to their claim. And so this clause about 'rightful authority'—which may mean anything or nothing—got into the document as a compromise between the opposing parties. . . .

"So far from wishing to take away from the bishops any rightful power that belongs to them, I should in some respects be disposed to allow a greater amount of power than practically belongs to them in England, the power of exercising discipline over offenders in a more expeditious and less expensive manner. But this power must not be arbitrary but constitutional; not according to the sole will of the bishops, but in accordance with and in administration of the laws which govern the whole body.

". . . On page 6, I find an apparent contradiction. On the one hand there is the declaration that we receive 'the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of Christ as the same are contained and commanded in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has received and set forth the same in its standards of faith and doctrine'—and a disclaimer of the right of altering the standards of faith and doctrine: and on the other hand a promise . . . . [that] '*interpretation*

of all such standards and formularies is to be reserved to the ecclesiastical tribunals of the province.' Why, everything depends on the interpretation! . . . By reserving to our ecclesiastical tribunals, that is to the episcopate, the right of interpretation, we do in reality put our standards of faith and doctrine in their power."

He then goes on to protest against two laws actually framed by the "Constitution"; the first forbidding any clergyman to marry persons, either of whom has a divorced husband or wife living; the second ordaining that "no clergyman of this Church shall unite in the conduct of divine service or the administration of the sacraments with any but such as are appointed or allowed to minister in this Church." With regard to the second he contended that the wording was ambiguous; but if it meant that he was not to allow Dissenters to communicate in his church, or to address his congregation, he protested against such exclusiveness. "I believe," he said, "it would do my people good to hear a minister of another denomination,—one who followeth not with us,—yet gathering together with us into Christ's fold, preaching the same truth, directing them to the same Saviour. That is what my individual conscience dictates; but the corporate conscience says I must not act thus."

The law against marrying divorced persons he was prepared, he said, to obey, though reluctantly, until the Provincial Synod should rescind it. But he showed that his position made this matter specially difficult. "The greatest difficulty we missionaries have to contend with is that which arises from the relations

between man and woman. This is the great obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the Gospel by the natives of Natal. It is not easy to make them feel the evil,—the sin of polygamy,—and when brought . . . under the influence of Christian faith, and when married by Christian rites, it is not easy for them to feel the solemnity of the engagement they enter into by marriage, the sacredness and permanent obligation of the tie. When difficulties arise—such difficulties as those which Christian-educated Europe is beginning to allow [to be] sufficient to justify divorce—it is not to be wondered at if they too fancy that they justify divorce, and the old mode of thought which they had as heathen wakes up again. . . . If in addition to refusing to unite a couple, one of whom has separated on insufficient grounds from a previous partner who is still living, we are also obliged to refuse to unite in holy marriage an innocent person whose wife or husband has separated and is living with another, we shall be guilty of inflicting a great injury on the innocent party; and I doubt not that if the law be carried out it will tend to produce uncleanness, impurity of living, deception, and backsliding."

This speech naturally involved Dr. Callaway in a somewhat warm controversy with his more orthodox brethren. The Natal newspapers of 1871 and 1872 were the scene of a good deal of more or less amicable warfare with which we need not concern ourselves; but two such controversies need to be mentioned:—(1) A discussion arose between himself and the supporters of the Bishop of Natal, on the Efficacy of

Prayer (in connexion especially with the illness of the Prince of Wales), as to which an outsider cannot but feel that the opposite parties were in reality contending for the same truth from different standpoints. (2) A sermon was preached by a Natal clergyman which was understood to support "the erroneous doctrine put forward by Dr. Colenso" on the subject of "Universalism." Dr. Callaway was asked to judge whether the sermon was of heterodox tendencies, and decided in the negative; but he took the opportunity of expressing his own opinions of the "new doctrine," as its opponents called it.

"The questions of universalism and of progressive perfectibility have occupied my thoughts. . . . I do not say for twenty, but for nearly twice twenty years. . . . I feel they are questions of sufficient difficulty, and involve so many different issues, that I should be the last man to blame Mr. ——— should he have come to a different conclusion from what I have. The doctrine of Universalism is one that probably suggests itself naturally to a man of warm affections and tender instincts; and it may be when such a one has taken a comprehensive view of all God's works and of all God's revelations, and has concluded that Universalism is a doctrine that cannot be maintained in accordance with what he sees in them, there may still linger in him a longing that it may be true notwithstanding; a yearning to believe that his instincts may after all be a more faithful interpreter of the future of God's universe than the conclusions of his reason. Very tenderly I have

always felt . . . for any man who is forced, as it were, against the conclusions of his judgment to accept this doctrine. I believe, however, that he accepts it from taking a one-sided view of things; and that to hold it logically he must give up more than as a Christian man he is prepared or would even dare to do."

# CHAPTER IX

Bishop Colenso's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on polygamy—Callaway's reply.

IT will be remembered that Dr. Callaway spoke before the Synod of the difficulty encountered by missionaries in dealing with the relations between man and woman among the natives of Natal. This difficulty was greatly increased by the fact that the missionaries themselves differed widely in their opinions on this question. In cases of wilful wrong-doing all were of course agreed that no compromise was possible; but there was no doubt that polygamy was not to be treated in the same way, however great a hindrance it might be to the progress of Christianity. How was an even balance to be kept between the purity of the Church on one side, and justice towards the people on the other?

As early as 1855 Bishop Colenso had written a pamphlet on the treatment of polygamy as found already existing among converts from heathenism. In 1861, when the question had waxed rather warm, and accusations had been brought against him of being

in favour of polygamy, he addressed a long letter, intended for publication, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It will be necessary, in order to understand and judge of Dr. Callaway's writings on this subject, to give a very brief summary of this long document. Colenso's aim in writing the letter, he said, was that the question, being of so vital an importance, ought to be considered impartially by Churchmen in England, in order that rules might be laid down to be observed by all the clergy of South Africa, rather than that each missionary should treat individual cases on his own responsibility. For his own part he believed that the forcible putting away of wives was an act of injustice and oppression, and in nowise warranted by the teaching of the Bible.

He held that (1) although in the creation of man and woman, polygamy was forbidden by God, yet that God overlooked the disobedience to His command, even as far as blessing men who were living in a state of polygamy, although Abraham, Jacob, David were all far enough advanced in holiness to have been able to bear a reprimand.

(2) Neither in the Law nor the Prophets is there any denunciation or condemnation of polygamy ; therefore it is not, when committed in ignorance, sinful or displeasing in God's sight.

(3) It is evident that to the Jewish mind polygamy was not adultery ; therefore it is not adultery among Kaffirs under similar circumstances.

(4) There is no direction in the writings either of the Apostles or of the early Fathers to guide the

Church in this matter; hence it is to be supposed that it was not recognised by them as a difficulty.

(5) S. Paul provides for a somewhat similar case when he *allows* the permanence of mixed marriages. But his admonition implied at the same time the unlawfulness of polygamy and divorce, and tended therefore to bring them into disuse in the Church.

(6) Our Lord's teaching was directed not so much against polygamy as against the economical method of dealing with polygamic wives—namely, to divorce them.

All this Bishop Colenso regarded as supporting his views as to the illegality of putting asunder polygamists and their wives. And he went on to consider the obstacles which would present themselves to such a mode of treatment.

Such marriages, he said, could not be violently broken without injury to the wives and children; and wilful injury is clearly an evil, whereas, as he had pointed out, polygamy was not evil in *itself*. He asked, how could he read to his people the story of how Jehoiada provided new wives for Joash, and Nathan sanctioned the possession by David of a plurality of wives, and then declare that the Kaffirs who had ignorantly married more wives than one were living in adultery? That polygamy is an evil he did not deny; but as the choice lay between two evils, he thought it more just to allow the Kaffirs to retain their wives "till God in His Providence should interfere" than to commit an act of hardness and wrong in enforcing their putting away.

Again, there could be no doubt that the wives of polygamists, though not married in the Christian sense of marriage, were yet wives according to the native law; although they held different ranks, and the son of the first wife was not necessarily the heir. This would create much confusion if separation were insisted on. Who should decide which wife was to be retained? whether the first, or the best-loved, or the weakest, or the strongest? or should all alike be put away? And what of the children? If their father is under the obligation to support them, are they therefore to be kept from their mother?

Finally, he asserted that the missionaries were trying to begin at the wrong end, and to reprove polygamy as the *source* of evil when it was in reality the consequence. The right course would be to strike at superstition, sensuality, covetousness, indolence, through the teaching of the Church, and trust to that teaching to bring out the better nature of the Kaffirs, which would lead them ultimately to remedy the evil of their own accord. At present the uncompromising attitude which the Church had taken caused the natives to dread Christianity, which could only be admitted into their midst at the expense of home-ties and affections.

The bishop added that many of the clergy in Natal were at one with him in these views, but that there were also many who thought otherwise, and that Canon Callaway was altogether opposed to the admission into the Church of polygamists as such. And the latter confirmed the statement by publishing in 1862

a pamphlet entitled *Polygamy a Bar to Admission to the Christian Church.*

In this he answered the bishop's arguments as to the dispensation granted to saints of the Old Testament by saying that the bishop had not made the due distinction between *sin* and the *guilt of the sinner.* Sin is the transgression of a Divine Law dictated by the will of God ; and a broken law is certain to revenge itself on the transgressor whether he be wilfully or ignorantly guilty. This is clearly understood in physical laws, and all experience proves that the moral law is equally unalterable.

Colenso said that polygamy is not condemned by the Bible. Callaway (following here the Dean of Pietermaritzburg) replied that God made one woman to be the friend and helpmeet for one man ; and all acts by which she is placed in a position inferior to man are acts contrary to God's law of love and of justice.

The sin of polygamy was certainly *tolerated* by God, as the deceit of Jacob and Rebekah was tolerated ; but it was not therefore true to say, as Colenso said, that God "recommended" it ; it would be as logical to affirm that deceit was recommended by God, or any of the sins which "in the time of man's ignorance God winked at." The forsaking of our Lord by His Apostles—the denial by Peter—all might be found to be in accordance with the Divine Will, because these sins did not shut out the sinners from their discipleship.

Callaway therefore holds that we are not justified in setting aside a law which was obscured in evil

times, only to be re-established by Christ and His followers.

Of all the sins of adultery, polygamy is the most injurious, because it is not merely an act of sin, but a sinful state of life which the more it is prolonged destroys the innocence and happiness of the wives and children. And when S. Paul insisted on the indissolubility of the marriage-bond, which cannot be annulled for differences of faith or of temperament, he is to be understood as speaking always of monogamic marriage, any offence against which has *de facto* destroyed that bond. In the same way Christ always upheld the sanctity of monogamous union. We, His followers, to whom He has brought new light, and with it new responsibility, are not to be regarded as in the same position as the Kings and Prophets of the Old Testament.

So much for the light thrown by the Bible on this knotty question. And Dr. Callaway turns now to the present state of affairs in Natal, to inquire how far the theory may be carried out without transgressing the boundaries of reason and common sense.

He finds in the first place that marriage, though valid and theoretically sacred according to Kaffir ideas, is not held by the natives in the same respect as is the Christian marriage by Christians. The covenant made is too often merely a question of barter ; it is entered into by the man for the sake of the status in society which a multiplicity of wives gives to him ; and by the woman because her family will grow rich with the cattle for which she is exchanged.

The compact thus made may be broken for barrenness or for the most trivial causes—for ill-temper or disobedience : but since separation involves a loss of status to the husband, it usually happens that it originates on the side of the wife, who is jealous of one of her rivals or who, having married for the sake of her family a man whom she does not love, deserts him after a few years for a more favoured suitor, leaving as compensation to the first husband children who will grow up to be also of market value. He adds bitterly that when a polygamous marriage is thus broken the only redress possible to the injured husband comes, not from his own people, who might be thought anxious to right what they would consider a social wrong—but from the English magistrate.

His own experience, in working among the Kaffirs, had invariably been that the daily life of Kaffir polygamists was one of misery, through jealousy, adultery, and slander ; and that it constantly gave rise to quarrels which ended in bloodshed. Disputes as to inheritance would arise at first between the mothers, afterwards between the children, and would to a great extent mar the enjoyment of that "home-life" which Bishop Colenso was afraid of destroying.

The number of children in a polygamist's household is usually small in proportion to the number of his wives. This is owing partly to the large rate of mortality among the children, but partly also to the fact that many of his wives are wives only in name. The first wife is usually the "beloved one"—Inkosikazi—and her rivals sometimes try to win

their husband's affection from her to themselves by magic arts, or plot against her life, or (to spite her) against the husband. Or, forming connexions with other men, they people the kraal with illegitimate children. But whether legitimate or not, the children of a hated wife are liable to the father's hatred.

Colenso had asserted that wives separated from their husbands would be degraded in their own eyes and in the eyes of the world; and that they would be reduced to starvation if deprived of the husband's support. Callaway replied that the State would guarantee that no dishonour should attach to women who had entered into polygamy in ignorance; that they would probably be regarded by their friends as martyrs rather than as outcasts; and that since it is the woman who works for the man, rather than the man for the woman, there could be no possible hardship in relieving her of an onerous charge. Two difficulties, he said, stand in the way of toleration. (1) How should one deal with a woman who has become Christian while married to a polygamist? To force her, or even to render it legal for her, to stay with her husband, would often be an act of cruel injustice, "binding upon her a heavy burden grievous to be borne." And (2) How may one hope to distinguish *wilful* from *ignorant* breach of God's law? A Kaffir wishing to take a second wife and forbidden by one missionary to do so might easily leave his own kraal for another, and after marriage might represent himself to another missionary as having sinned in ignorance, and so be admitted to baptism.

There is, he maintained, practically no limit to the amount of evil which may enter in if the Church once opens her doors to wilful wrong-doers. The purity of the Church must be upheld at whatever cost of apparent expediency—to lower her standard in this matter would be to lower it in every way, and she would lose her power of raising her children to the higher life which she sets before them. "Let the Church dare to abide faithful!" not doubting but that the power of her Lord can overcome all the hindrances that seem to lie in her path.

Again, polygamy had been shown to be an evil from a political point of view, since it forms a barrier to steady progress and elevation of character. The colony suffered greatly from the want of a steady supply of labour, for men would always remain idle so long as they had women to work for them, and the toleration of polygamy would supply them with enough "hands" for their own personal needs. They would not dream of letting their wives work for others, even if the State were willing to employ them. Whereas the demand among colonists for strong young labouring men has the beneficial result of raising these to a position and habits of independence enabling them to maintain a wife. The women are thus allotted to more suitable husbands, and in course of time society returns to a more natural order. As he had said, the plough is the most powerful antagonist to polygamy. There is no question, he continued, of legislation in the course the Church is called upon to take; she would not force

the separation between husband and wife; but she would forbid baptism to those who were still living in polygamy, and trust that time and influence would do the work for which mere legislation is powerless.

As a matter of fact, he had met with few cases in which polygamists had presented themselves as catechumens, because, as he believed, the attendant evils of polygamy hinder all spiritual progress. The Kaffirs themselves are fully aware of the opposition exercised by the Church against every form of evil, and know that, putting polygamy out of the question, they would be obliged to give up the sins that they would fain keep.

As regards the bishop's denunciation of "injustice and oppression," Dr. Callaway was in perfect accord that the wives and children must be treated with justice and kindness. The Christian law of love could under no circumstances allow of the driving away of helpless women and children who were without means of support. If the usual order of things is so far reversed that it is the Kaffir man who works for the maintenance of his family, his duty clearly is to continue to do so until the children are of an age to work for themselves, or until the mother marries a man willing to provide for them.

The course that Dr. Callaway thought it right to adopt, while the question was yet undecided, was to admit polygamists as catechumens, but to keep them outside the pale of the Church till Christian teaching had done its work.

The question was again brought forward at the Synod at Pietermaritzburg, in June 1872. Dr. Callaway, who spoke on the subject, still held firm to his opinion that polygamy was not to be tolerated inside the Church; but he agreed that sudden abolition of the system of "ukulobola," on which much of the evil depended, might give occasion to the increase of immorality. There were, he said, many obstacles to be removed before native monogamic marriage could be firmly established without fear of abuse—the hut-tax, which caused overcrowding in the kraals—the heavy marriage-fee, and the facility at present existing for obtaining divorce on insufficient grounds.

His final dictum was given in the tenth year of his episcopate, but it may be referred to here as showing that his views had not changed, though they were somewhat developed in detail. He continued to defend the course he had always taken; but added, (he is speaking of catechumens), "Christian faith does not exempt a man from moral obligations entered into before he believed; on the contrary, [it] more obliges him to give effect, so far as is within his power, to all legal or covenanted obligations entered into with his several wives; and further, the moral obligation of endeavouring to bring them to Christ is now added to the legal.

"If his wives, or any of them, wish to leave him, either because they are offended by his faith, or because they have themselves accepted the faith, he should release them formally from any legal claim on [him], and allow them to go. But if they wish to live with

him as heretofore, for the sake of their love for him and their children, let them stay and come with him within the circle of the Church's teaching and influence, that he, they and their offspring may be taught for Christ.

"The woman is in a different position from the man. . . . The sin of polygamy is his, not hers; she has no power over her position. If then one of the wives of a polygamic family becomes a convert, she may be baptised, and admitted in due time to all the privileges of Church membership. By allowing this the Church of this day would be acting on the same principle as the early Church, when it made it canonical to admit a concubine to Baptism and to Holy Communion, she still living in concubinage. I do not think the Church ought to admit that her husband or friends have any right to stand between her and her God. We leave them legal power over her person, until she can be legally freed from their authority, whilst we demand for her spiritual freedom. . . . I can see no reason why a converted woman may not use all the means of obtaining a separation from her polygamic husband, open to her by the law and public opinion of her people."

Dr. Callaway's views as to jurisdiction in this and other social questions will be found fully stated in the evidence given by him in 1881 in answer to an enquiry instituted by Government into native laws and customs.

# CHAPTER X

Progress and discouragement—Usetemba's Tale—Changes wrought by four years' work—The black man and the white—"Highflats" and its development.

By the end of 1860, Spring Vale had grown to be a thriving little village, extending its influence far beyond the 3,000 acres of its own territory, and including amongst its Church congregation many Kaffirs who would walk in from the surrounding kraals week by week to listen to the white man's teaching. Dr. Callaway was one of those who have the gift of inspiring an instinctive confidence, and the natives would come to him for advice in all the details of their daily life—for his mediation in family quarrels, for redress of grievances, for directions as to building or planting, and for healing of all diseases, mental and spiritual as well as physical. It need hardly be said that through his gift of innate sympathy, he learnt from such applicants as much perhaps as he taught them. The diaries abound in character studies—which it is often impossible to separate from their context—showing that his many theories for the government and guidance of

the people were not impracticable ideals, but were the outcome of years spent in watching their lives from his peculiarly fortunate vantage-ground. It was as impossible to generalise for the Kaffir character as for that of any other nation—perhaps more so, since no gloss of civilisation had as yet begun to smooth the angles of their individualities to a common level.

In most cases it was possible to get some hold upon the most intractable by appealing to the religion of their ancestors, and the principles of truth and right contained in it. But among the wilder fighting men there were some who laughed at their fathers' faith as old wives' fables, and would scarcely have acknowledged —in spite possibly of their deeper instincts—any higher power than that of men stronger than themselves. One of these warriors, Ududula, came to Dr. Callaway to tell how his wife and cattle had been stolen from him. He denied the accusation that it was his own quarrelsome nature that had laid him open to injustice. "'Ududula is no scamp. They took away his wife—but Ududula placed his head low and said nothing. They took away his cattle, and again Ududula placed his head low and said nothing.' And then, shaking his finger in the air he said 'Eh! eh! eh!' meaning probably that their day would come, and [he] would have his revenge. . . . He is a great hero. He fought in the wars against Utyaka, and points out Utyaka's wounds—then he has Udingane's wounds—and the lion's wounds."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, September* 13*th*, 1861. . . . We are considered by all who visit us to be getting on 'wonderfully' with our work here. And I believe we are getting on; but there is something beneath the surface which the casual visitor does not see, and which cannot be conveyed by words, but which makes one feel at times very meanly about the work. The native character is untrustworthy; one does not know how much is sincere and how much hypocritical in his professions; and I do not know that, when the life does not become moulded in accordance with our idea of a Christian, we ought at once to conclude that all the profession or a considerable proportion of it is hypocrisy. It is a very difficult task, that of bringing the people to God. . . . It is possible that there is as much of truth and sincerity and real goodness as among any similar number of white people; but I get to know a great deal of duplicity and deceit." Miss Townsend, Dr. Callaway's friend and fellow-worker, writing at this time on the same subject to the secretary of the S.P.G., said, "Regularity and stability of labour are among the last things the Kaffirs learn; still Dr. Callaway is beginning to be able to place dependence upon some. . . . The Kaffirs from the outside kraals are often astonished at his intimate knowledge of their thoughts and doubts and reasonings and questionings."

One of his most intelligent converts, Usetemba, was encouraged by Dr. Callaway to dictate to him the

simple story of his life, which was translated literally into English and published with a view to enlisting the sympathy and interest of English friends. It is a pathetic little tale of close family affection broken into at first by the young man's attraction towards the new teaching, and knitted together more strongly through the patient unselfish steadfastness which won his mother (after the father's death) to his own side.

All through 1861 preparations had been going on for the erection of the little school-chapel which was to take the place of the already overcrowded school-room. No one worked more diligently than the doctor himself; he directed the quarrying and carrying of the stone, the brick-making and timber-felling, and was always to the fore during the actual building to superintend the not very competent labours of his men. The church was sufficiently completed to allow of its being used for service by July, 1862, and this being done, Dr. Callaway set to work on his own house. One of the party who had accompanied him on the journey of exploration into these wild lands, re-visited Spring Vale in the October of 1862, in the fifth year of the mission station's existence. "At the time of our first visit," he says, "all that was to be seen was a rude Kaffir kraal and two Kaffir huts in the wilderness. . . . [And now] after traversing the steep, rocky and tangled defiles of the valley of the Umkomanzi, and cantering over a few miles of pleasant upland downs, you come in sight, suddenly, of the groups of white buildings, the broad tract of ploughed land, the little wooden belfry, and the cheerful green, sloping

down to the rocky stream. . . . All this at the head of a little upland valley with mimosa-sprinkled slopes on the opposite side, and down the stream the rugged hills of the Umkomanzi valley. It is a complete oasis in the wilderness of unreclaimed nature. . .

"First there is the church, on the colonial plan of a central building with verandahs and lean-tos all round it. By a happy thought the hospice (or hospital in the old sense of the word) forms part of the church-building, three large verandah-rooms being appropriated as guest-chambers—an arrangement specially desirable in a remote station like this, where houses of accommodation are unknown, and hospitality to strangers is once more becoming as in the olden time a cardinal virtue. This building is about 54 feet long by 33 feet wide. Then there is a large workshop and cottage attached, solid stone-walled kraals, stable and out-buildings ; the temporary wattle-and-daub house of the missionary, and a school-building adjacent. A large building, intended as a permanent residence for Dr. Callaway, is now being erected. Besides all this there is a little hamlet of huts and cottages for the natives attached to the mission.

"As regards industrial training we see some forty or fifty acres all ploughed up and fenced in by the natives on the spot, and a large and well-arranged kitchen-garden with neat walks, the work of a Kaffir gardener under the eye of Dr. Callaway, who is the presiding genius of the spot, and whose knowledge certainly ought to be encyclopædic, inasmuch as he

seems to have to perform the duties of universal instructor and referee in things secular as well as sacred, besides his medical functions. Six ploughs stand ready for use as soon as the rains begin to fall, and these will all be worked by native ploughmen. One Kaffir lad is at work in the carpenter's shop . . . . another native is with Dr. Callaway aiding him in perfecting his knowledge of the Kaffir tongue. . . . At nine o'clock [every morning] a Kaffir service, wisely brief, is held, when the average daily attendance (though of course altogether voluntary) numbers about sixty, comprising most of the natives resident at or working upon the mission lands. This over, all return to their proper occupations. . . .

"On Sunday morning the missionary addresses [the Kaffirs] in a familiar extempore discourse; in the afternoon the instruction is catechetical after the mode of the primitive Church; in the evening the Gospel and Epistle of the day are explained, and those present are invited to ask questions. All these arrangements are dictated by a wise, common-sense view of the objects to be attained and the circumstances and antecedents of the hearers."

In 1863 a Saturday evening class was started for men, the object being to encourage them to ask questions on all subjects that interested them. "I felt," Dr. Callaway said, "all the difficulties which would attend such a meeting. They might raise sceptical difficulties which I might find it not very easy to answer so as to satisfy them. But again, I thought it would be far better that I should know the real

state of matters than that they should be left alone to toil with the darkness and doubtings of their own minds."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, May* 19*th*, 1863. . . . It is not easy to determine how best to work so as to give one's influence an effectual bearing on [the natives'] elevation intellectually, morally and religiously. It is a curious psychological study to see into what strange combinations they place the new thoughts [with] their old notions. . . . The children improve much on their parents by early training, but still among them the savage comes out continually, and they are much less under control than our children. . . . We have had a great deal of low fever amongst us since Christmas, above thirty cases, almost entirely among the young people. They have allowed me to a great extent to manage the cases, but it has been a severe task, for we had to do the nursing as well as the doctoring. One nice little boy died, and in that case I fear the death was occasioned by some interference unknown to me. . . . The *nimia diligentia medici* is the rock on which they split. . . . I sometimes am doubtful of being ever able to accomplish much with them, certainly not to the extent of giving them a distinct national existence. The white man is coming on in increasing numbers and is treading on their heels in every direction ; before they have time to grow into a people another people will have occupation of

their places. They do not by their mode of life become *bonâ fide* occupiers of land. They move continually—two or three years is generally the longest period they remain in a place, and a very slight thing sets them on the move. And when they have left their old habitation they leave behind nothing but a few irregular patches where they have dug, which soon pass into the unreclaimed waste around—a few straw houses of which every trace is swept away by the first autumnal grass-burning; and the heap of their cattle kraal, which gradually spreads itself into a level, to become after a few years the garden of some fresh arrival. The white man comes in and the waste is reclaimed, there are houses of stone or brick, enclosures, trees, and if the white man were to be driven out to-morrow the signs of his presence would be here for half-a-century or more. It is a problem not easy perhaps to be solved—perhaps impossible when, as at home, mere feeling guides the judgment—what right have these people to keep out the white men? . . . They live for themselves; a little maize and other cereals, the milk and flesh of their herds, and the hunt, supply them with all they need. Is it right to keep out the struggling, hard-working, white man for such an unprogressive people as this? I am often struck with the new feeling towards the coloured man which springs up in the Englishman's heart when brought into close contact with him. At home it is a sentiment. The colour of the skin is a halo of glory around the black man. 'He is the man and the brother.' But when

the Englishman comes out here and is brought into daily contact with his habits and his waywardness, this is rapidly exchanged for a feeling which would soon lead under exciting circumstances to extermination or slavery. The Dutch made bondmen of them. And it is a curious fact that a feeling is growing among the natives that it is easier to live with the Dutch and to please them than the English, who exact nothing by mere power and pay them for their labour. . . . We do not exercise power enough over them. A native who comes from a Dutch service is generally a knowing and useful servant, but one brought up with an Englishman is often saucy and intolerable and at the same time inefficient.

". . . . I believe [the Kaffirs] sometimes think me a very ignorant, good-for-nothing doctor, because I decline to treat cases which I do not see. Their own doctors undertake to treat anything upon their report. But my answer is, 'I cannot see so far, my arm will not reach him,' and at length they are beginning to understand that it is a rule with me, and to treat it accordingly by bringing the patient to me if practicable."

A gentleman (Mr. Newnham) who went out to Natal in the early summer of 1863 to help Dr. Callaway in school and mission work was struck by the way in which the natives manifested their love for their master. "Far and near," he said, "he is held in universal respect. A man with them may be an 'Inkosi,' chief, in virtue of his office, but they never accord that title to one without the official right to it, except he be a man whom they respect and obey. I

was agreeably surprised therefore to find the doctor addressed by that title interchangeably with "Umfundisi,' teacher, and 'Baba,' father. . . ."

The success which, notwithstanding his own occasional diffidence and disheartenment, had attended his work at Spring Vale, made Dr. Callaway eager to begin extending branches of the mission into outlying districts, for the sake of his own people as well as of their heathen neighbours. For it was inevitable that converts still "weak in the faith" should be drawn back towards heathenism by such of their own people as held most strongly to the ancestral Kaffir beliefs, especially if, as too often happened, their reluctance to hear the white man's doctrines sprang from a clinging to evil habits which they knew the missionaries would require them to give up. Dr. Callaway wrote accordingly in February, 1863, laying his scheme before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, through whose help he had been enabled to carry out most of his earlier plans.

"I want to see established some system for visiting the Kaffirs at their homes. . . . This is one centre, and with proper management a circuit of from fifteen to twenty miles might be placed under systematic visitation. From here we might get more and more influence over Uhuhulela's people, and other offsets might be gradually established. . . . If the Society would provide me with funds to establish a mission among the people of the three petty chiefs Unjan, Kaduju and Umunyu, and obtain me a good clergyman for the purpose, and if they could supply me with

funds to establish a mission near Umaraule's kraal, I think we might without further delay commence a work which has long seemed to be calling me to take it in hand. . . . My idea would be that I should myself take upon me the opening and early roughing of the new station or stations, being assisted by one or other of the new missionaries."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, February 7th*, 1863. . . . I am day by day more and more bound to my work and by it, and hope soon with the blessing of God to have a wider sphere of labour, more care and more toil. Among other things, I want to establish a white colony of true loving friends, who would love the natives for our common Saviour's sake, and throw the influence of their daily life into the scale. . . . I do so long to see the colonist doing his duty,—feeling himself as a Christian to have a priestly office to perform towards the heathen, instead of barely tolerating them as means of supplying his own necessities. You will understand that I want no maudlin sentimentality to be exercised towards the natives; what we want is a *well-regulated, judicious, Christian charity.*

"This country is beautiful in many respects. There is a great deal of bright sky, and except for a few months the heat is not very oppressive. The cold of winter may be counted by days, and can be easily guarded against by clothing and proper habitation. . . . The place I am looking at is situated at the source of

a river, and is high and breezy. . . . The night after returning from a hasty inspection, I awoke with the name Highflats—*Empakomeni*,—running in my mind, a beautiful name for our station, suggestive, I trust, of what it shall be, a City on the Heights, which shall be seen afar and attract many to the true Zion. Down the river towards the sea there is a beautiful country consisting of slight undulations breaking off to the right and left, that is north and south, into the two rivers which run into the sea. Each vale between these hills has its spring which bubbles and sparkles and becomes a streamlet ; these little river-sources are in the midst of small forest-clumps varying from two to twelve acres. It is a country already made to hand —laid out as few parks in England are. It is not occupied only because it is too far from the bay . . . if at any time the mouth of the Umkomanzi be opened up as a port, which is probable, the value of this neighbourhood would increase fifty-fold, and we should be brought close to civilisation. . . .

"The present hot weather rather curtails my power for working ; but I am not idle. Scarcely a day passes but I long for more power—bodily, mental, spiritual—that I may devote all to that great work before me. I shall be very glad of Newnham. He is a real good fellow, and we love each other, and on many things think alike."

*To the same.*

"*Spring Vale, July 22nd*, 1863. . . . My firm persua-

sion is that colonisation by Christian people will do more for the natives than the isolated efforts of solitary missionaries dotted here and there about the country—men, many of them of narrow notions, who say truly enough 'the Gospel is the remedy for all evils, social and moral'; but who miserably mistake the means of bringing the Gospel to have a bearing on the people and to get an entrance into their hearts. It is perfectly clear that we cannot with any wisdom or justice address untutored savages as we should address educated and well-informed Christians who have lived all their lives in the atmosphere of Christianity. Here, more than anywhere, example is more than words; and I attribute the widespread and increasing influence I have over the heathen around me simply to the general cheerfulness and good temper of my daily life, and to the attempt to act towards them as an elder brother or a father. This system is infinitely more telling than any number of Sunday sermons. My best sermons are preached when I am engaged with them in labour; and . . . it is clear that a work of this kind not only may be carried on by laymen, but ought to be by every Christian layman, in his character of a priest unto God. . . .

"I feel sure that unless [the natives] are taught good habits as well as good doctrines, the latter alone will not save them from temporal ruin; and the Kaffirs, like other coloured races, will gradually disappear before the white men. . . .

"The progress of things must be natural; and we must not adopt any hotbed, high-pressure system

Commercial prosperity is insured, not by putting men into positions for which they are unsuited, or by using property in a wrong way, but by a kind of free-trade system which allows things to find their level according to the unfailing principle which is determined by supply and demand."

Dr. Callaway's original plan of planting a colony of Englishmen to civilise and Christianise the natives could never be fully carried out; but with the aid of his new helper, Mr. Newnham, and a few hard-working laymen, the new station of "Highflats" was started in 1863. It is about sixteen miles from Spring Vale, and accordingly within tolerably easy reach of the mission-workers, many of whom gave what time they could spare from Spring Vale duties to helping with the building, land-enclosing, &c., of the new village. Perhaps the best worker of all was Umpengula, who had been trained by Dr. Callaway in every kind of manual labour during the early days of Spring Vale, and who was able now to set going and superintend the operations in his master's absence. As soon as a fair-sized hut was completed a Sunday service was started there; the doctor rode over as often as possible, generally on alternate Sundays, and in his absence a young catechist, Mr. Kinloch, carried on his work.

By March, 1864, the congregation had increased to an average of forty-five—"as many," Dr. Callaway wrote, "as at Spring Vale after many years' work. There is no separate village of what they call *believers* at whom they look with suspicion and jealousy—suspicion, because they have cast off their relatives and

separated from them—jealousy, lest they should stand between the missionary and themselves.

It was still some time before Highflats manifested such outward signs of prosperity as a well-built church or proper school accommodation ; but the delay was only due to a want of funds. The natives themselves were greatly interested in the growth of the new colony, and gave their money and their labour towards the building ; the Natal Government made a grant of land to be added to that already bought, and substantial help arrived from friends in England ; so that by April, 1866, they had been able at a cost of £300 to build a small church, which was opened amid general rejoicings. The day was kept as a holiday by Christians and heathens alike, and was regarded by Dr. Callaway as a very satisfactory "object-lesson" to savage neighbours. He still hoped to be able eventually to settle there, leaving the mother-village of Spring Vale in its comparative civilisation to the care of younger men. But he was never able to see his way to doing it, and, as he said, he was not now as fit for "roughing it" as he had been ten years before. Instead of this, he had a light cart made in which he could do the journey in less time and with less fatigue than by riding—although the drive was "no joke," the roads being only "such as your own wheels have made."

By 1868 Highflats had developed greatly in point of converts and workers, though it remained "a naked-looking place" owing to a morass which ran through the valley and which could not be drained

in the present lack of funds. The doctor always cherished the hope of adding this to his other labours. As it was, the swampy nature of the place involved him in some expense by causing floods which wrought havoc from time to time among the buildings. In December, 1868, the little chapel was almost destroyed. Dr. Callaway looked on the place as capable of great development, and far better adapted by its physical position (where "all the roads meet") to be the centre of operations than Spring Vale.

*To the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK (Secretary of the S.P.G.).

"*June 4th*, 1869. . . . We do not contemplate making Highflats what the late Bishop Wilson of Calcutta called 'a missionary compound'—a hotbed for the reception of natives professing Christianity. Such a system has always seemed to me of doubtful expediency, and as I see and know more of the native character and the working of missionary institutions, it appears less and less desirable. There is a danger of such stations becoming permanently Rocks of Adullam—refuges for characters of the worst description. . . . We should try to develop Christianity among the natives in their own homes, and not separate them, as soon as they believe, from their relations, to form a distinct class in the country. As Christians they become 'the salt of the earth' and 'the light of the world,' and should be encouraged to bring their newly derived power to bear on their fellow countrymen. . . . We propose to make Highflats a

centre round which the better and more advanced natives may gather ; where there may be an institution for teaching native lads, and training them, if they appear fit, for the ministry. . . . At this place, too, as it develops, young Englishmen wishing to become missionaries to the heathen may receive instruction in the language and in the rudiments of medicine, and go out to their several spheres of duty wiser, better and more efficient men."

# CHAPTER XI

Printing press started—"Village regulations"—William Ncgwensa—Mr. Blair's letter—A general depression at Spring Vale—A "revival"—A native murder; Dr. Callaway's journey of investigation—Travelling a hundred miles to see a sick child—The Hospital scheme—Need for a native ministry—Two native deacons ordained.

MEANWHILE at Spring Vale itself there were indications of more decided progress than had yet shown itself among the natives on whom so much labour had been spent. The attendance at church and school became daily more numerous, and several new families settled in the neighbourhood in order to get education for their children and themselves; confidence in the doctor and his healing powers increased to an extent that was almost overwhelming, but was welcomed nevertheless as a sure way of gaining personal influence; and steady thorough work so far improved the condition of the Kaffirs that they were able to buy their own ploughs and other implements and set up little homesteads of their own, to the envy and emulation of their more backward neighbours. They were only too glad to build their own cottages in European

fashion, and to be able to do so without needing assistance from their hard-worked teachers.

A grant of £200 was made by the local government for the carrying on of industrial training at Spring Vale. Part of this was to be devoted to printing Dr. Callaway's collection of Zulu tales, for which purpose a printing press was erected, and in course of time a first-rate English printer engaged to superintend the native training.

"But notwithstanding these signs of progress and awakening," wrote Dr. Callaway in December, 1864, "we must not close our eyes to the existence of much that is unsatisfactory among the native converts. It is evident that they have come out of very much that is heathenish—they are different men, if not absolutely new men; they believe in God and His Christ, and are capable of being influenced by arguments founded on that belief in reference to their daily life. Now they are like men perplexed, struggling and tottering in a position to which they are not accustomed. They have new principles, and doubtless many of them have higher and holier aims; but old habits cling about them, and it is not uncommon to find them appealing to force to settle disputes."

So trying were these constant worries that the missionary adopted a plan, as did Moses of old, whereby rules might be enforced without always needing his own intervention. He drew up a list of "village regulations," comprising rules as to "the care of the school and chapel; salutations and conduct to superiors; cleanliness; regulations for cattle, fences,

&c. They have the character of police regulations rather than of anything else, but they will be extended according to circumstances. The people themselves are to be the agents in carrying them out, and also are to have a voice in framing them."

Usetemba was one of the five "officers" appointed, but the "chairman of the committee," unanimously elected by his colleagues to the post, was William Ncgwensa, of whom little mention has hitherto been made. He had begun his connexion with the mission under sad circumstances, in Dr. Callaway's early Pietermaritzburg days. When a child of about ten years old he had fallen or been drawn into a habit of hemp-smoking, and in a fit of insanity which the practice had induced he murdered his father, the chief of a small native tribe. He was sentenced to imprisonment, but the sentence appears to have been given more for protection than punishment, for he was taken into the service of the keeper of the prison, and allowed almost entire liberty. He had been baptised at Pietermaritzburg shortly before Dr. Callaway's arrival there, had become a regular attendant at church and school, and had, on the departure of the prison-keeper, been admitted into the Callaway household first as servant, then as pupil. The doctor had been greatly interested in the boy, recognising his capabilities for good as well as his weaknesses. Now, after eight years of faithful service, he had fully justified the confidence placed in him, by showing himself the aptest and most diligent of scholars, a practical workman, and, in spite of the drawbacks of

his early life, a man to be thoroughly relied on as a teacher and example of good. His intellect was of a somewhat different order from that of Umpengula—more brilliant, perhaps less deep—and he also had been able to give valuable assistance in Dr. Callaway's literary work.

Among other labours taken up by Dr. Callaway about this time was the learning of Dutch, which he felt to be indispensable if he was to undertake a mission in Griqualand, to which his fellow clergy, the Griquas themselves, and his own inclination were already urging him. The printing-press, which Mr. Blair had brought from England in June 1865, also to some extent increased his work; it had been somewhat disheartening to go on adding to his stores of "copy" while there was no clear prospect of rendering them useful. The press was set up, Mr. Blair says, in the "verandah-rooms of the school-church, next to the doctor's study. Once started, its work went on at the rate of about seven hours a day, the doctor continually adding to his stock of MSS. Nothing disturbed the daily "plodding" of Dr. Callaway and his printer for years; in fact, the work was only broken into when Dr. Callaway became bishop, when Mr. Blair removed his press to the more commodious building at Highflats, rejoining the bishop later on at Umtata.

Mr. Blair goes on to say, in the letter he has kindly written, telling of his connexion with the doctor at Natal:—"It was one of his characteristics that he would always teach others something of what he was

doing himself. He took an active part in farming, saying that the colonial missionary, situated as he was fifty miles from a town, should be able to grow his own corn, vegetables, and meat. He was very fond of animals—his horses were pets, as were his cows, sheep, and perhaps the pigs. . . . He was never idle, but attended to all these outdoor things as a short change from the study. He seldom went anywhere, except to Highflats, for months together, being very fond of home and his work there.

"One of the native names of the doctor (for the natives usually give a white man a name of their own) was Umvunywa. It means 'one who is assented to,' or 'one with whom we agree'—one who is not contradicted. So a native on his way to see the doctor for the first time would have a hint, in the name itself, that he must assent to everything the doctor said as everybody else assented. Nobody contradicted him. In his intercourse with the people he was always on the lookout for some new phrase or sentence or idiom which he might utilise in preaching or translating. Discoveries of this kind were a favourite topic at the table. The doctor translated into Zulu the greater portion of the Prayer-Book, and had it printed, [1866], and although, after his departure from Natal, efforts were made to "run" amended translations, the doctor's Prayer-Book is still in favour with the natives, who after all are the best judges. It must not be supposed that he was right in every point for which he contended in the matter of translating, but in the mass of work which he did verbal inaccuracies are few.

His hymns are still sung by native congregations in South-east Africa.

"Very much might be written of a characteristic of Dr. Callaway which is impressed on my memory—his large-heartedness. He seemed to entertain everything that came or was laid before him, especially if he could help in the matter. That is a reason why he always had so much work on hand. I never recollect his saying 'I'll have nothing to do with that,' as busy people will say sometimes. The presence of a sick helpless person suggested the idea of a hospital, with its staff of doctors and nurses; the casual call of a white man in search of work would suggest the advisability of undertaking some new building or farming, so that that man might have employment. With others he would have 'agreements,' so that they lived on his land for the mutual benefit of both.

"His rule was to do everything in the best possible way. He sometimes said that if it had been his lot to black shoes he would black them *properly*."

During the latter part of 1866 there had been several deaths among the more influential natives; several newly-made converts were inclined to ascribe the calamity to displeasure on the part of the *Amatongo* against the new religion. Accordingly many had left and gone back to their own people and their own traditions —though loving messages came back from time to time, showing that they were not happy away from their teacher. Even among those who remained there was a good deal of despondency, and in some cases a falling back into sin, which sorely distressed the

doctor. One man named Caleb, who had come to the station a year or two before with his family, and who had been baptised, and always set a good example, now fell back into the old ways, and in so doing dragged his sister with him. His own sins had not troubled him, but he was roused to indignation at finding that she had returned to native customs, and to remorse when she reproached him with being the cause. His repentance not only gave Dr. Callaway better hopes of the man than he had had before, but seems to have been one of the chief causes of a "revival" which took place in 1867, and which was, perhaps, largely due also to reaction from the despondency of the previous year, since no other individual case of repentance had produced anything like the same result. It took a strong and even alarming hold on the excitable natives, and there seem to have been few who did not come to some extent under its influence.

"For several days before he [Caleb] came to me, during the evening and before daybreak, the surrounding quiet would be suddenly broken by the loud wail of anguish, or the cry of earnest prayer they were raising to God in the surrounding bush or by the riverside. I naturally felt very anxious lest all this should prove a mere temporary excitement, which would pass away, leaving their poor spirits darker and duller than ever. It must be understood that so far from encouraging any such thing, I have been afraid of it, and have discouraged it, and have trusted solely to the simple preaching of the Gospel, believing that

the order is (1) The Word of God, (2) hearing, (3) faith. But I could not ignore what was happening. A great awakening had taken place. I must help and guide it, and by God's grace prevent it from passing into fanaticism on the one hand, or on the other cooling back into a smooth-faced hypocrisy. . . .

"[Two girls who came for counsel] seemed to think that the work which was going on in them was something absolutely new, that God had come to them for the first time. But I pointed out to them that it was not so—that God had come to them again and again by a gentle loving voice . . . . and they had sometimes listened and stirred a little, and then fallen back again into slumber, and even into sin. They must not imagine that God was in any way altered. It was His wish always to bless them and give them joy; and if they were not blessed, if they did not rejoice, it had been simply because they had not received that great mercy which God was always ready with open hand to bestow upon them.

"I showed William Ncgwensa how much danger there is in these excitements. I acknowledged the results and was thankful, because I saw that the Spirit of God was really using them as a means of arousing the people. But I was still afraid lest their hearts should again become cold, and they should return with increased greediness to the sins they had left. I could quite understand how with certain temperaments, when God begins to awaken in the heart by His Spirit a real sense of Divine things and of the evil of alienation from God, they would be so agitated that they

could find relief only in loud wailings and prayer. But that was the human side of the work, the undesirable side of it, which would be better not to be, if the heart could only quietly and trustingly commit itself to God in Christ."

Among the natives influenced by the movement was an old woman, whose son with his wife and large family were all to be admitted to baptism. She was nearly eighty years old, and almost in second childhood, and there was a question as to whether it would be advisable to baptise her with the others. Dr. Callaway set one of the native catechists to speak to her, the result of which was that on the following day she came to the mission-house, a distance of nearly a mile, of her own accord to see the missionary himself. "Do you believe in this good Lord?" he asked her; and the reply was "Should I have tottered up to speak with you, if I did not believe in Him?" And he found that she had been to the hill-top to pray, having been told by some of the new converts that her prayers would be heard there more readily. Needless to say that she was taught the truth, and admitted with her children to baptism.

Umpengula's child was the first baby born at Spring Vale, in 1858, the summer of Dr. Callaway's settlement there, and the touching and simple record of his short life has been preserved in the father's writing. His parents had him baptised by the name of Sajabula—*i.e.* "He continually rejoices"—and delighted in the beauty and intelligence which developed as he grew, and which set him apart from

their other children. As time went on the tiny child learnt to help his father in little duties about the farm and garden, and would of his own accord run out at sunset to bring home the calves and to earn his father's smile of thanks. "And I his father used to say 'My child will be better than I; for he lived like a true man.'" Umpengula was intensely devoted to him, and watched him with a care that was half joy, half dread, for there was something unearthly in the child's goodness. "His face was as if it told some very beautiful tale." "In time of his health I used to see death," he said.

In 1863 a kind of low fever broke out in the village and Sajabula took it. He was not very ill at first and seemed at one time to be almost well again; but his strength failed, and there were times of suffering which told the parents too surely that their fears for him were to be fulfilled. Dr. Callaway was constantly with them. The child's strength ebbed from day to day, and medicine seemed only to bring him fresh suffering. The father, remembering a native superstition, said, "It is well that we loosen our hands that it be not we who cause him suffering."

"I [had taught] him the Lord's Prayer with which men begin to pray . . . and when he was ill . . . he knelt whilst he had strength, and still overcame the disease at the time of prayer." And later "although he was no longer able to speak, he used to say the word 'Lord!' . . . we hear nothing else, we do not know what he says." And one night the missionary came, and putting aside his remedies as useless, he knelt and

prayed by the child, and Umpengula's heart said "That prayer is as it were a farewell." As morning dawned the child "was like one asleep; the moaning now ended, the restlessness ceased. I said 'Go in peace, my child.' He was dead."

*Diary*—"*June* 1, 1867.—At the request of the resident magistrate of Richmond, I set out to-day to go some distance to investigate a case of murder. . . . I thought, from the account given me of the distance, that I might go, and return to Highflats to sleep and take the Sunday service. . . . After asking my guides again and again 'Are we nearly there?' and receiving again the same answer, 'It is close at hand,' at 3 P.M. (after being in the saddle six hours) we found ourselves on the edge of a precipice running north and south for miles, and cutting off an upper plateau to a lower, which probably extends to the sea. . . . The guides pointed to a native kraal about half a mile off—'That is where he was killed'—and then to the most distant visible hill—'And yonder he is buried.' 'Why, how can I get there to-night, to say nothing of returning?' I said, rather shocked at the work before me.

"Trusting to their account I had left my sleeping-rug and provisions at Highflats on my way, and now I had no prospect but that of a ride till near midnight on weary horses, or of having to sleep at a Kaffir kraal.

"We descended by a precipitous path, and reached by another steep ascent the kraal where the man had been killed. . . . A bride had come with her father

and friends to her future home. During the wedding dance some altercation arose, blows were exchanged, and at length the bride's father, whilst attempting to mediate, was stabbed in the chest. The bridal party was at once broken up, and the bride went home with her friends. . . .

"We did not reach our destination [*i.e.* the kraal where the murdered man was buried] till about 4.30 P.M., and had only half-an-hour of daylight and no moon. The body, being that of a man killed by an assegai wound, was not buried in the kraal but at some distance. . . . When we had finished our investigation it was nearly dark, and total darkness very soon follows the sunset. I fully intended to get to Highflats—knowing that I could not reach it before 10 o'clock—not at all liking the prospect of sleeping in a native hut without extra clothing and without food. But the native policeman who was acting as our guide and who, like myself, had travelled the path for the first time, missed his way in the dark; and Undabazizwa, my own boy, is not way-wise. . . . We concluded to go on by the path we were in, knowing that a path leads somewhere, and that if we turned back we might wander again and be wandering all night. . . . We were recommended to dismount. . . . It was so dark that I could not see the outline of the precipitous and rough path in which I was walking, and had to feel the way with my feet, and sometimes with my hands, to prevent myself from falling." (Two streams had to be crossed, the first by stepping-stones which had to be groped for in the darkness, the second through mud ankle-deep, and

then came a path almost perpendicular, which necessitated constant stoppages for breath.) "We reached the top at length, and soon after the kraal we were in search of. But by this time I was fairly exhausted, having been in the saddle about ten hours, and having eaten scarcely anything since the morning. My horse too was tired and hungry, so I gave up all thoughts of going on.

"I was soon introduced into the chief hut, a clean mat was spread for me near the fire, and a native pillow—viz., a small four-legged stool—handed to me. The prospect of the night was anything but pleasant—no food such as I was accustomed to, no wrapper, a very hard bed, a not very comfortable pillow; plenty of companions both human and animal. . . . In due time a pot, capable of holding about two quarts, of porridge of maize and pumpkin, was presented to me, full to the brim, and a clean wooden spoon placed on the top. A kid which the people had brought in was then placed on an eating mat, and distributed to us and to the natives in the hut who had assembled to talk with me.

"As might be supposed I had a very restless night. A very high and cold wind arose during the night, and reached me in spite of the great fire which was kept up. I rose early, intending to reach Highflats by breakfast-time. But our horses had got away, and could nowhere be found. My own man was out seeking for them before sunrise, and others followed, but we could get no tidings. It was a beautiful morning, so still, so bright, no longer cold; and I walked up

and down watching the east as it began to glow with the rising sun, and thinking happy earnest thoughts of my home and my work. . . .

"At length I determined to borrow horses of the natives, and leave the care of finding my own to the chief man of the kraal. I broke my fast with half a teacupful of new milk, and set out with Undabazizwa on two native horses a little after 9. We reached Highflats in about two hours, but I was so exhausted with hunger and want of rest that I left the Sunday-school and service to Mr. Blair who had come over for the purpose.

"It was a very amusing but practically not altogether pleasant chapter of accidents. We often read of missionaries and travellers complaining of such things, but really these and other like discomforts are generally the result of mere mismanagement."

Another subsequent entry shows this was by no means a unique experience.

"*Nov.* 8, 1868 (*Sunday*). Just as I was going in to the first morning service a messenger came from Mr. Wilson, Resident Magistrate, Alfred County, with a most urgent request that if possible I would go and see them. A few months ago they were at Port Elizabeth, and there lost their eldest child, a most lovely girl, of diphtheria; they have just lost their youngest of the same disease, and their only surviving child, a boy, is ill of the same. The letter was so urgent and of so sorrowful a character that I could not refuse to go. But the road! In a straight line probably not more than fifty miles; but to get over

that road involved much difficulty; steep hills and deep gorges—no white inhabitants intermediate—the Umzimkulu to be passed at an unfrequented ford, and if full impassable it may be for days; and the only way of travelling, on horseback. I determined therefore to send medicine, and to drive by the coast road, a distance of about 100 or more miles; I therefore set out immediately after service with Petrie and two horses. . . .

"*Nov.* 10*th*. . . . As we proceeded the roads grew worse and worse; it was only by the most careful driving that we got on at all. At length we reached the Ifafa. Formerly the ford was some hundred yards higher than the present one,—the bottom good, and a good road ran along the opposite bank. But this road has been washed away, and we had to pass over a rocky uneven bed, and on the opposite side to pass up a steep bank through a foot or more of loose sand left there by the recent floods. In this sand we found a loaded waggon stuck fast—no very bright prospect for us in crossing with somewhat jaded horses! I sent our guide, an intelligent good native, forward to test the ford. He got into water nearly to his armpits, and then came to a rock which rose almost perpendicularly." A place was at last found where the cart could cross, and as a sharp thunder-shower had made the roads less slippery the journey was for a time a little less difficult.

Next day, Nov. 11th, "we came to a morass through which the waggon-road ran; the rushes and reeds were higher than the horses, and we could not see the road. . . . One of the horses sank to the saddle,

and the cart was nearly upset. . . . Petrie took the horses' heads, and they ascended the bank which was about three feet perpendicular in height; but they could not drag the cart up, for the steps caught in the bank and would not allow of its passing without breaking." Some natives were found to dig away the bank, and they succeeded in lifting the cart bodily on to a firmer road. They reached a mission station on the Umyanbi with no further trouble, and leaving the horses here Dr. Callaway went on to Mr. Wilson's on horseback, under the escort of a native guide. "[He] was very unwilling to go, and wished me to allow him to return as soon as he reached the waggon-road to the Umzimkulu. But I persuaded him that he must go on to the river, or even to Mr. Wilson's if there was not another guide to be found at the ferry. Before we reached the waggon-road we had got on excellent terms with each other, and he most cheerfully went with me the whole way. I crossed over [the ferry] in the boat and the horse swam across. Here Mr. Wilson had left directions that I should be cared for, and after taking some refreshment and procuring a new guide I left about 7 P.M. for Mr. Wilson's." It was a pitch-dark night, and the responsibility of finding the way had to be left entirely to the native guide. After three hours and a half spent in riding over uneven ground, through interlacing trees and the beds of several streams, Dr. Callaway found that the man had been wilfully misleading him, and that they were only three miles from the place they had started from. Happily they fell in with some natives who came out with

torches to guide him. "They whirled round pieces of lighted firewood, thus keeping up a considerable light, some before and some behind me. It was a wild weird scene, the black figures just discernible by their fire-sticks—the fire, as they whirled them round, thrown into all kinds of fantastic shapes—and the savage native songs breaking the surrounding dead silence." They took him to the house of a German missionary with whom he passed the night.

Setting out early next morning he reached Mr. Wilson's before breakfast, and was glad to find that the medicines he had sent had proved efficacious and that the child was out of danger.

The journey home was by a longer but easier road, and was made in comparative comfort. One night was spent in the hut of a Griqualand missionary, who was absent on a visit to a sick woman. His hut was "made of poles planted in the ground about eight feet apart at bottom and meeting at the top—in fact, the *roof of a house* on the ground. It is forty feet long, has a door, and two windows of calico. This is his schoolroom; there are a few rough primitive desks and forms, books and maps. The bed on which I was to sleep was placed on two planks and a portion of a third, supported at one end by a box, at the other by a bag of meal. I could not help thinking that Mr. Murray's mode of living was very much like that of a hermit—quite as much self-denial is required to live as he does as was required by hermits of another period. He is their minister, schoolmaster, and doctor."

Such long journeys by rough roads (or no roads at

all), and in all weathers, involved, as may be imagined, an amount of time and strength quite out of proportion to the actual result—the willing service was invaluable to individuals, but meanwhile all his other duties to the colony were at a standstill. He therefore set himself more ardently to consider ways and means for carrying out a plan which had for some time been taking shape in his brain—namely, the establishment of a small hospital. The advantages it would give him seemed to him to make it almost indispensable. In the first place there were his scattered patients, who necessarily suffered and often died through want of his constant care, and, more fatal still, through the interference of the native "medicine-men." He was able to make room for one or two urgent cases in the "verandah-rooms" of the school-chapel or in adjoining huts; but the accommodation was a poor substitute for proper hospital comfort. Then there was the advantage which such a building would have in offering hospitality to friends at a distance, travelling missionaries, etc., who would rest there as travellers of the middle ages did at the monasteries; and in this way the Church would be felt to be literally a bond of union between man and man. And there were other considerations from a strictly medical point of view—the encouragement of the study of medicine among the Kaffirs, the systematising of records of cases, etc., and the collecting of a medical library, which might be used by many besides the actual hospital staff. "It seems too great and good a work to be entrusted to me," he wrote to Mr. Hanbury.

And too great it proved indeed to be, for he laboured during the ensuing years only that other men might enter into his labours. But there is no doubt that the work was his throughout, though the final accomplishment was taken out of his hands.

In these early days, however, the difficulties seemed small in the light of his enthusiasm. "There is every prospect of my being able to enter on the work before very long; that is I have [1868] £100 towards it, and the almost assurance of other help; probably also help of an efficient kind from Government, who would look on it as a good public benefit. What I want is not only to erect a hospital but to endow it. It must not be a thing resting on any one life. . . . It should be at Highflats, which I feel sure ought to be our centre. I would not hesitate a moment if I could command the private funds which have been sunk here. But you must know that ten years of labour in this station [Spring Vale] have told on me considerably. I am in first-rate health, never perhaps better, but I am older and cannot bear physical fatigue as I could, and am obliged to humour myself as formerly was not necessary. My roughing days are over. Then again my hands are full of work; I could not personally superintend the work at Highflats as I did here, and therefore the average expenses would be much greater. But I have always found the needful means come to hand when the work I have had to do is God's work; and if this be His, sooner or later the means will be provided."

Not only did his own people look with great interest

on the project; as soon as an appeal for funds appeared in the *Natal Mercury* it was responded to by the people of Griqualand, a territory beyond the Umzimkulu River, and outside British dominion. The Griquas held a council to discuss how far they could help, and wrote (through a Wesleyan minister who had been working among them) to offer such wealth as they had, namely timber for building, and cattle and sheep for maintenance. Others followed their example, and a goodly herd of cattle was collected and maintained, and contributed to the support of Dr. Callaway's patients in the long interval which had yet to elapse before the actual building was started. Dr. Aldridge, the principal practitioner in Pietermaritzburg, looked on the plan as one which would greatly advance the progress of medical science in the colony, and used every means to awaken interest among his patients. Altogether things seemed to promise well, and the doctor may be pardoned if his eagerness made light of the obstacles that lay in his way, and if his plans were somewhat too extensive for accomplishment.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, November 2nd,* 1868. . . . I am much obliged to you for the information you give me of the kind friends who have subscribed for the hospital. Do if you can convey to them in some way my feeling of gratitude for their help. . . . I purpose to build it on the plan of S. Bartholomew's,

four wings enclosing a square. We think we can build the front wing with what we have, hoping to get more as we go. I have been working on the plan to-day, and have made it with two wards capable of taking seven beds each. Accommodation for super-intendent . . . and three other small rooms in which separate cases may be placed. . . .

"I believe it is a good work God has put into my heart to do, and that He will enable me to carry it out. It is quite possible that I may be doing it for someone else—I mean that we may find it necessary to get a medical man from England to take charge of it."

Another idea was to have three wards, one for coloured men, one for white, and the third for women. But in either case it was estimated that even this small building would cost £1,000, and not half that amount was yet collected. A terrible flood which occurred during the latter part of this year caused a general commercial depression—Government had to curtail expenditure in every direction, and was more likely to withdraw grants than to launch out into new ones; and the means of private individuals were of course equally straitened. The dearly-loved plan must therefore remain for the present in abeyance, which was all the harder to bear since the natives had already begun to ask to be admitted as in-patients. They took it for granted that their all-powerful master only needed to make up his mind to anything, and it would there and then be accomplished. As it was, the doctor could not refuse some of the cases that were brought to him,

and his own small house continued to be the Hospiz of the neighbourhood. The Griqua contributions were invaluable in defraying the heavy expense.

Dr. Callaway's English friends were somewhat distressed at the long delay. By the end of 1870 the funds only amounted to £450, and, as he said, this would be more than swallowed up by the building of even a "cottage hospital," exclusive of furniture, and with no margin for the current expenses which must be incurred at first, until its development into a medical school would render it largely self-supporting. There was nothing for it but to bide his time. "If I could afford it I would come to England to plead my own cause," he wrote; but as that also was for the present impracticable the matter must remain uncertain. "It is a public work, and the public must take the responsibility or go without the benefit." And thus it was that the hospital did not come into existence till he had entered a wider sphere of work which would not allow of his keeping this branch of it in his own hands.

It has been already mentioned that Dr. Callaway had set his heart on educating the most intelligent and promising of his natives to carry on the work of the ministry. For some time he had been able to leave the congregation in charge of Umpengula and other native "catechists" when he was obliged to be absent at Highflats and elsewhere, and had found them fitted for any work of teaching, reading, or visiting, that could be carried out by laymen. It was evidently impossible to get together an efficient staff of English

clergymen to do all the work that was needed in the Colony—the funds at command would not supply a quarter of the requisite number, though there were self-sacrificing men already working on an income barely sufficient for their daily needs—and further, the natives had, as we have seen, advantages over the white men in their closer intimacy with the ways and thoughts of their own kindred.

The question was brought forward at the Pietermaritzburg Synod in June 1871, and the Bishop asked Dr. Callaway what qualifications he considered should be looked for in native candidates for Holy Orders. He replied that of course a high standard of education must not be required, and that he had found that simple earnest men could sometimes, by their very simplicity, teach the ignorant natives more efficiently than those whose education might lead them to "entomb rather than enshrine Christian truth." "We must expect disappointment in preparing native ministers, and heresies peculiar to South Africa may spring up; but this should not hinder us. . . . The Apostles would have ordained such men without requiring literary qualifications." He would not debar them altogether, he said, from a classical education; but he saw in it a danger which must be carefully guarded against. "Book learning" of any kind was still an unwonted exertion to a race whose education had only begun some fifteen years back; and any attempt to force their powers brought a reaction of physical depression and a consequent tendency to give up working in despair. For this and

other reasons he agreed with Dean Green that it was as a rule a mistake to send the natives to England to be trained at S. Augustine's or other theological colleges—the best training was a life of action, of mixing with men and women and learning something of the human nature with which they had to deal.

Dr. Callaway proposed his own two helpers, William and Umpengula, as fit subjects for ordination, and with Bishop Macrorie's approval he devoted himself during the ensuing months to their training. It was an arduous task, for there were no books in the native dialect except his own translations of the Prayer-Book and parts of the Bible, and the teaching had to be done orally. He taught them, as one would teach children, the history of the Old and New Testament, questioning them daily on the lesson of the preceding day ; went through the Creeds, their history and significance, the office for the making of Deacons, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Church Catechism, besides setting them to read for themselves such passages in their translation of the Bible as had a particular bearing on any great Christian truth. He also made them prepare written sermons for him, and found that, as might have been expected, they were far inferior to the men's spoken teaching. On one occasion Umpengula had preached a sermon so striking that his master asked him to repeat it that he might write it down. But it lost half its force when delivered thus apart from his audience.

A young Englishman, Thurston Button—whose

sister had for some time been with Dr. and Mrs. Callaway as their adopted daughter and their right-hand in all their labours—had been for two years in training at S. Augustine's, Canterbury, and had returned to Natal early in 1871 for his deacon's ordination. (He tells in a letter to a friend how the whole population of warm-hearted natives came out four or five miles to meet him on his arrival at Spring Vale.) He now received priest's orders from Bishop Macrorie, at the same time that the natives were ordained deacons, at S. Saviour's Church, Pietermaritzburg, on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1871. Dr. Callaway preached the sermon. His text was from the third chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians:—"Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." It was for the most part an address of advice and encouragement to the young men on the work they were entering upon; but he took occasion to allude to this fulfilment of his hopes and to the promise it gave for the future.

"I believe," he said, "that not to attempt to raise a ministry for the natives from among the natives themselves would be a proof of our own great weakness, and of want of faith in the power of that Gospel in which we profess to believe. . . . The white man, if he be a man of any power and capacity, is looked

up to as a superior being, and the natives will servilely assent in his presence to what he says. . . . They imagine that the word of the Gospel is the white man's word, good for him, but not good for them. . . . As set forth to them by him it is frequently a mere transcendentalism. . . . But they must begin to think in another way when they hear one who a few years ago was living in the same savagedom, in the same ignorance and want of culture as themselves, speaking to them of the high and holy things of God. . . .

"Think not for a moment that I am not aware of the prevalence of infidelity, blasphemy, and immorality among our white population. . . . There is in the great cities and towns of England a criminal population not outdone in evil-doing by any heathen in this land. Had the Church waited to convert these men before sending her ministers into foreign parts we should ourselves have no ministers, no churches, no sacraments. The apostles did not tarry at Jerusalem till unbelief and sin had been eradicated by their labours. . . . In sending forth her messengers to other lands the Church does not weaken by scattering her forces, but is simply fulfilling her mission, and her labourers in distant harvest fields are really reaping rich blessings for those at home whom they have left but not forsaken, and whom they love with no less love because, constrained by the love of Christ, they love others also."

As he had expected, the promotion of these two men was a source of great interest and joy to the

Spring Vale people. "As William came out of church after the first celebration in which he had administered the cup, the people gathered round him with much warmth of affection and shaking of hands, and some of the old women kissed his hand—a mark of great respect."

They at once took their places as Dr. Callaway's curates, giving their time especially to parish work. Mr. Button worked for a short time at Highflats before being intrusted with a more responsible charge.

# CHAPTER XII

Griqualand—An exploration party—Clydesdale mission started—Links between Africa and England—Reason and Revelation—Generosity of Spring Vale natives—A mîssionary's daily life—Literary work—Whites and blacks—Progressive Christianity—Darwin and Max Müller—Proposed new diocese of Kaffraria.

To the south-west of Spring Vale, beyond Highflats, and beyond the Umzimkulu River, lies a large tract of flat country inhabited originally by the Amabaca tribe, who had in past times proved somewhat troublesome neighbours. In the spring of 1860 consternation had prevailed in Spring Vale at a rumour (which proved on this occasion to be unfounded) that they were coming on one of their predatory raids under the chief Utiba, who thought nothing of punishing his offending subjects by covering them with dry grass, setting fire to it, and then throwing them into the river. The tales may have been exaggerated, but there was no doubt that they were in their wild state people whom it would be well either to avoid or to civilise. At that time the country was known as "No Man's Land."

In 1863 a new people had, with Sir George Grey's permission, migrated hither from the Free State, and placed themselves under British protection. These

were the half-caste Griquas, Dutchmen who had intermarried with Hottentots or other natives, and whose leader was Kaptyn Adam Kok, a man of strong and interesting personality who held in his hands the whole civil government. The new-comers had to a great extent reduced the Amabaca to order, had given their name to the country—Griqualand—and had become the more important if not the more numerous part of the population.

Some efforts at evangelisation had been made here by the Wesleyans, but hitherto the Church had done nothing. The people who came across the Umzimkulu into Natal territory had seen the well-built houses and cultivated land around Spring Vale and Highflats, and the prosperous-looking people each with his own hut and garden ; they had heard of, and in many cases proved for themselves, the missionary-doctor's medical skill ; and they had several times sent a pressing request that a mission-station might be started among them also. We have seen already how they welcomed the idea of a hospital and sent as much as their means would allow for its building and maintenance. Everything pointed to the need for a church and resident clergyman here, and the time seemed to have come when practical steps might be taken towards establishing them.

At the end of May 1870, Dr. Callaway took advantage of the school-holidays to organise a "picnic-party" to spy out this unknown country. The party consisted of himself and Mrs. Callaway, their adopted daughter, Miss Button, and Miss Newland who was

acting as schoolmistress, and four or five natives. They travelled in the waggon which had so often served as his own carriage, dining-room, and bed-room; and two other tents were taken to form the nightly encampment.

They were a very happy holiday-party, despite the many drawbacks involved in so primitive a mode of travelling. A long drought had dried up the vegetation—never very luxuriant here at the best of times—and only the total absence of roads prevented their being blinded by dust. As it was, the way lay chiefly along dry grassy plains or the roughest cart-tracks. Provisions in abundance were supplied, sometimes by the natives, more often by the colonists whose houses they passed, and who gladly welcomed to a meal and a chat any travellers of their own race. Reports as to the Griqua people did not grow more encouraging as they drew nearer their destination. One gentleman assured Dr. Callaway that he would never succeed in planting the Church among them, that they hated Christianity as taught them by the Wesleyans, and would refuse to listen to other Christian teachers. Another, a clergyman sent out by the London Missionary Society, spoke from personal experience of the discouragements that he met with in all directions; but his offer to interpret if Dr. Callaway would hold a service showed that he was friendly disposed towards a Church of England mission.

It was a question of considerable anxiety therefore whether the leader of the Griquas, Kaptyn Adam Kok, would accord them a favourable reception.

However he received the mission-party graciously, spoke sensibly of the advantages which would be given by such a settlement, and almost promised that no opposition would be offered by the authorities. The people themselves welcomed him still more cordially. They came to the mission-tent for hymn-singing, and on the Sunday morning, June 5th, Dr. Callaway found about a hundred of them assembled in the chapel for an early morning service—a clear sign that there was not a universal hostility to Christianity as he had been led to expect. In fact, he soon found that they were an essentially religious people. "They were for some time—years it may be—without a regularly-appointed minister; yet they did not give up religious duties, but had their regular church meetings, and did what they could to keep themselves alive. I speak of course of those only with whom I have been brought into contact; and of these I must say they appear to me to be good, earnest Christian people." The numbers were estimated by one of the English colonists as 5,000 Griquas, and some 15,000 Kaffirs, Amabaca and Basutos.

The travellers reached Spring Vale on June 10th, after twelve days' absence, and with no misadventures but one night of sharp frost, and a gale of high wind which threatened to blow the fire they had kindled into the surrounding dry waving grass, and to set the whole land in a conflagration.

Kaptyn Kok appears to have felt that he had gone further than he meant—at all events the matter was not settled till a few months later.

*To* THE REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*Spring Vale, September* 16, 1870. On Monday last, September 12, I received a special messenger from Kaptyn Kok asking me to meet him at the Umzimkulu on Tuesday. I went accordingly and met him and his council. We had a long talk in which many difficulties, real and imaginary, were raised by them, not to the establishment of a mission by the Church, so much as to the character and conduct of the men that might be appointed to the work, and the difficulties that might arise if men that could not work with them should be appointed, if they gave the Church a *bonâ fide* title to the land. But when I pointed out to them that it would be an utter impossibility to begin a mission upon a principle which would leave entirely in the hands of the Government the power to judge of the character and conduct of a clergyman . . . . and that to visit on the Church the misdeeds of any individual would be to punish in a wrong direction and in a wrong way . . . . they saw that the principle I was contending for was a right one, and agreed to place the land in trust for Church purposes under a committee appointed by the Volks Raad.

"Nothing could be more hearty than the way in which they expressed themselves as willing to receive and co-operate with us, notwithstanding all the undercurrent of suspicions which they say is justified by past experience."

Opposition being removed, there still remained the

old and constant difficulty of funds. An Englishman offered to sell a large tract of land amounting to 4,500 acres, with a cottage and other buildings, for the small sum of £300; and this was so clearly an advantage that Dr. Callaway sent an urgent appeal to England for funds to enable him to make the purchase, and for men to come and carry on the work. "No half-hearted man will be of any use in native work. A half-hearted man may be *forced* to work among white people; public opinion forces him, and in actual work his half-heartedness may pass away. But the influences among natives are all dragging down. And if a man is not really earnest he will sink down into apathy, and into unbelief in the reality of his work and of that of others. The higher the training of a man, if earnest, the better. The natives appreciate a gentleman. But they appreciate too reality of character in those who are working among them." [1868.]

The Griqualand mission would, however, need to extend to Europeans as well as Africans, and Dr. Callaway felt that this work was, to say the least, not less important than the "mission work" properly so called. "I cannot but feel," he wrote to Mr. Bullock (February 10, 1871), "that this objection [to missionaries undertaking work among whites] is founded on a false theory, supported though it may appear to be by facts. I cannot conceive any right-minded man—any Christian minister with a spark of the love of Christ burning within him—anyone possessed of a clear comprehension of the work of His Church in the world—finding it possible to sit still and confine his attention

to the coloured races, when he sees his own countrymen, Christians by descent and profession, sinking into lower and lower degradation around him, for want of the means of grace and the means of even elementary education for their children. The mission of the Church must be to the *total population* of the country. It is only because we are out of joint that it is possible for us to break up the population of a country into classes. The white people properly attended to, really reached by the Church, really sensible of their duty, become the great means in the Church's hand for the evangelisation and elevation of the natives. The white people neglected, sensible that an inferior people, a foreign alien people, claim more attention and sympathy than they, become reckless and indifferent to that Church, and too often to the truth which that Church is sent to teach, when they see the Church is indifferent to them."

The appeal was responded to almost at once. Enough money was collected to allow of the purchase being made, and Mr. Parkinson undertook to settle as resident clergyman on the Upper Umzimkulu, with Mr. Budd, a catechist, as his coadjutor. The mission was to be known henceforth as Clydesdale; a small temporary church was to be built, to be enlarged or rebuilt as circumstances might allow; and three outlying villages, one five miles off, the others each twenty-five, were to be visited from the mission. This would prepare the way for the establishment of new stations later on.

Unfortunately, Mr. Parkinson's health failed within

a month or two of his going to Clydesdale, and it became necessary for him to abandon the work. This of course occasioned further delay and much worry to Dr. Callaway, who was constantly taken away from his literary and other work to superintend the building, etc., and to arrange the business of the transfer of land. There was also some anxiety caused by the increased efforts of the Wesleyans, who were naturally anxious to hold their own against the church about to be planted in their midst. Dr. Callaway dreaded the evil effect on the natives of the sight of two religious bodies, each teaching what to the Kaffir mind would seem similar doctrines, and yet in the position of antagonists. The post of missionary would, he knew, be a difficult and responsible one. He decided to appoint Thurston Button, who had for the last year and a half been working most earnestly and successfully at Highflats, and whose long acquaintance with the Kaffir people and two years' English training adapted him equally for the two branches of work to be done. The event fully justified his choice. By the end of the year (1872) the place had greatly developed; there were good Sunday attendances, a flourishing school, and a general interest and enthusiasm among the people which gave every promise of good results. As church furniture was not to be had, and the natives were not skilful at carpentering, Mr. Button set to work with his own hands to fit up the church with desks and stools. He collected a few good workmen, to supply the immediate wants of the place and to instruct the

people in various trades; and he allotted the land in small portions to the householders, that they might each have a certain independence. His Spring Vale training stood him in as good stead, perhaps, as the more directly "missionary training" of college.

A further interview which Dr. Callaway had with Kaptyn Kok showed that the latter was not only reconciled, but most friendly disposed towards the new settlers, and ready to give them all the help he could. The Griqua Government gave land of the value of £200 for the benefit of the school chapel and of a medical dispensary, and opportune help came from the S.P.C.K. to establish the little mission on a firmer footing. Dr. Callaway began to look forward to a time when the fertile soil under proper cultivation might make Griqualand the "granary for the whole of Africa."

While the daughter villages of Spring Vale were thus extending and developing, it must not be supposed that the chief station was not also making progress. The growth here, however, was rather in spiritual depth than in outward prosperity; and its course may be best judged of by gleanings (which we have not separated from their context) from Dr. Callaway's letters. One ought to remember that, amid the press of work in which he lived, and tried as he was from time to time by failing health, he was not always in a position to judge impartially as to the general progress of the community. But in spite of occasional physical weakness, his mental vigour was perhaps at its highest development during the years

immediately preceding his consecration. Since giving up manual labour, he had been able to give his time almost exclusively to clerical and literary work, and at the same time to interest himself keenly in the vital questions of science and theology which were stirring in England and the Colonies. If it should appear at times that his ideas are wanting in originality, it should be remembered that he had been separated for many years not only from England, but—except at rare intervals—from the society of Englishmen of his own intellectual standing, and was therefore dependent only on the comparatively few books which he could collect in his "home in the wilderness," and which his busy life would allow him leisure to read.

*To* MR. HANBURY, *who had sent him a list of subscribers to the Hospital Fund.*

"*Spring Vale, May* 9, 1868. . . . I fancy —— at one time thought me a very wrong-headed religionist. . . . As we get nearer heaven we get nearer each other, and begin to learn that opinions may vary—ay, and vary very greatly—but that the Spirit's life is one and unchangeable, and that the great Spirit of the Son of God can and does work by various means and ways to carry on His work in different minds ; that our oneness is in Him, our diversities of ourselves—sometimes intellectual, sometimes natural. . . . It is so difficult to know how to convey the expression of one's feelings of obligation to such kind unknown friends. One

feels more obliged, it seems to me, for help for our work, than we should be for personal favours conferred on ourselves. There is the feeling of brotherhood in one Head, brotherhood which overleaps those minor causes which separate us into distinct sections in the Church. . . .

"—— could not understand my movement when I left Friends. But they did not cease to love me, nor wholly to believe in me. There were others who seemed to give up all faith, if not love. . . . But had they known the years'-long struggle—the trial of heart and intellect which I was passing through with all the cares of my profession—they would themselves have told me I could not have done otherwise, and would have wished me 'God-speed' in the way in which our one Head called me to work for Him. . . .

"I am quite prepared to admit that there may have been, and [may be] still, much mistaken, false, and dangerous in the views which many entertain of the Bible. And I also believe that there are some things that have crept into it which are not of God, and which a rightly-conducted criticism will expunge. . . ."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, August* 1, 1868. . . . I am not a believer in Darwin, but I have not yet read all his book. . . . I know more of Darwinism, as it is called, from his friendly expositors and unfriendly opponents than I do of him and his exact opinions.

"There are these *primâ facie* objections which have occurred to me :—

"(1) Nature seems to act with a view to keep things at a certain level ; it is a great mistake to give the female to simply the strongest. There are individual likings on the part both of female and male which prevents connexion being determined by physical strength. . . . It seems rather to go by a rule of contraries. This, of course, refers to the human species especially, but the same thing is seen among animals.

"(2) The sterility of hybrids, which is opposed to the creation of a new species. Why should there be any such opposition if all species are but offsets of a common germ ?

"(3) I believe I am right in saying that the lowest forms do not appear first in the geological chart on the stage of being.

"(4) It is not the physically strong that can maintain itself best in the struggle for existence. Intellect much more. What would man be if the physical alone ruled ? It would seem that, whilst man got physically weaker and weaker, before his intellect had time to develop, he yet maintained himself against greater and greater odds against stronger animals.

"I am not sure that Darwinism might not get over the male and female argument. The hermaphrodite they would *say* is the intermediate link.

"It is one of the questions of the day about which I ought to be able to speak. But how much one has

to read to keep up with the vastly rapid progress of the day!"

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, October* 6, 1868. . . . I have read ——'s lecture on Colenso and his difficulties with much pleasure. . . . An ex-Quaker knows how to deal with Colenso's fallacies on the inward light. . . . The fact is, most errors are half-truths—or truths seen on one side only. And it has long been a favourite thought of mine that it would be better to acknowledge the half of an error which is true, than to meet it by an opposite only half-truth, which is the usual way of dealing with error of opinion. Why should not the Christian Philosopher take in all that is true in Deism, for instance, in science, in everything, to sanctify it by the teaching and for the service of his Lord? Surely it can be done. The God of nature and of grace is one; and one truth proceeds from God speaking by nature and by grace. The error is in our misapprehension of what he says, and misinterpretation. . . . I should much like to see Darwin's works. I quite agree with what he says about the rabidness of some religious (?) writers against science. Darwin has no doubt brought together a great many facts, but is probably utterly wrong in his interpretation of them. But if his interpretation were right, I do not see that it would affect a single Christian doctrine or revealed truth. We may go back as far as we like; trace perfect forms through their evolution and developments to their most primordial condition,

yet at last we must come to the Purposing Mind, which gave that primordial condition such wondrous capabilities. It seems to me very absurd to be afraid of science, and, it may be, very unbelieving too. For we are seeking *truth*—and whatever is not true we ought to be glad to cast away.

"Our Church is still unsettled. I yearn after a greater charity, and half envy ——, who could say he was bound by nothing *denominational.* I do [not] think that I am practically—at least I feel that I can stretch across all denominational difficulties to shake hands with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, October* 20, 1868. . . . I have just finished *The Darwinian Theory Examined, by a Graduate of Cambridge.* I think he brings up many unanswerable arguments against the theory. At the same time I confess I do not greatly admire the book. It appears to me that he does not understand the theory he attacks, or if he understands it he purposely misrepresents Darwin. I do not profess to have thoroughly read Darwin, for I have only looked into a borrowed copy, and I never can read a borrowed book so thoroughly as I do one of my own. I cannot mark the margin and make notes. But I have formed these conclusions:

"(i.) The transmutation theory is true *within certain limits.* Many of the facts mentioned by Darwin are facts of my own observation too, and conclusions

drawn by him similar to conclusions formed by myself.

"(ii.) But he is wrong in extending the theory beyond the limits, and making observations on *varieties* apply to species, genera, families, and classes.

"(iii.) The theory is not necessarily atheistic, nor opposed to the existence of a Creator, even now actively upholding and superintending all things. I do not say what it may be in the hands of those atheistically inclined. . . .

"The graduate makes many great mistakes. What is he? Not a physiologist. He does not know the difference between growth and development. The latter word sadly puzzles him. He has probably simply *read up* to answer Darwin.

"Then he does not understand what *Creation* is. . . . He seems to think that that only is Creation which is effected by an immediate, direct act of the Creator. But is this the case? Do we not teach children that God created *them?* . . . I have no doubt that everything pertaining to man, the highest of God's work in this world, is derived from God instrumentally through the parents. So is every young animal—every tree from the seed which is derived from the parent. This is God's way of creating by secondary means, which He works at, guides, superintends, but which He uses as instruments. If God chose to create a primordial germ, from which all organised beings should proceed —if He chose to create one thing directly and all other things indirectly by its instrumentality, what is

that to us? It does not limit but extend His power. . . .

"Let us just consider what a wonderful thing is the development of a man from the germ-cell which is derived from the parents. . . . A simple cell, by appropriation of materials from without, becomes changed into all sorts of textures . . . blood, muscle, bone, nerve, elastic tissue, hair, etc. . . . And as bone never changes into muscle, nor muscle into nerve; as, so far as we can see, some tissues retain their generic difference, whilst others are capable of a kind of transmutation . . . what difficulty is there in supposing that a genus once established should maintain its character for ever, and that species once established should be kept within certain bounds which they should never trespass? . . . There is a potential difference in the germs of different creatures which never admit of development in *more than one direction*—a frog-germ would never produce a toad . . . nor a gorilla-germ a man. . . . This is the real weakness it seems to me of Darwin's theory—it is unsupported by geological records, and by facts going on around us. . . .

"I do not like the way in which [the Cambridge graduate] speaks of a thing as *impossible*. What is *impossible?* Many things formerly appeared to our forefathers as impossibilities which we now know to be simple facts, and which we are able to interpret. It is irreverent, and contrary to the very object he has in view, to pronounce anything impossible with God. . . .

"What is true in Darwin will stand, what is false will pass away. It is a most comfortable thing to have faith in God, and to believe that, though there are daily taking place transmutations in human thoughts, yet He is ruling such transmutations, and leading the race onward and ever onward to a greater knowledge of Him and of His works."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, December* 22, 1868. . . . I have had a great sympathy with the intellectual movement of the age, and have found myself working out in private the same problems which are being discussed in public. . . . It is perfectly clear that Reason would never have found out by itself the truths of Revelation. They are entirely out of its sphere. It can collect no data on the subject. But Reason can go to the Bible, and from the data there given discover *what* God has revealed, just as it can go to God's works and find out what He has revealed there.

". . . A man may be able to understand the science of a thing without being in the least able to carry out his scientific principles in art; and as the artisan can teach the man of science even as to the extent and bearing of the principles which he has, it may be, originally got from the man of science; so it is in religion. The practical Christian,—he who knows God in Christ Jesus,—who, if I may so speak, is practising the *art* of Christianity, knows more of it than the theoretical theologian."

*To the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*Spring Vale, December* 21, 1868. . . . Our school must always be rudimentary. As soon as the boys and girls grow up they go off to work or to marriage, and perhaps in the present state of the native class in Natal, industry is more important for their welfare than literature. . . . On the whole I believe the natives are as moral, as truly religious, as reasonable and as deferential to the advice of their teacher as any such class of white people anywhere."

*To the* BISHOP OF BLOEMFONTEIN (who had visited Spring Vale two years before).

(*End of December*, 1868.) ". . . We read your Pastoral Letter, and knowing that our poor people had a very pleasant recollection of your visit to us, and took an interest in your work, I determined to devote our Christmas offertory to your cathedral. . . . On Christmas Day we had a goodly number of communicants, all in the village who could attend. They are suffering at the present time from famine. . . . I did not therefore expect more than a small amount to send to you as an expression of their love and goodwill. But the offertory amounted to £4 17*s.* 3*d.*, and it was evidently given with willing and loving hands. After church, those who are not communicants, and the little children, brought to me their offerings. One man brought me 4*s.* 6*d.*, saying, 'It is but a small sum, but many little rivulets fill a large river.' . . ,

We had got bound the translation of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and they were given to many as Christmas presents, so that on the whole they were very happy."

A short time before Dr. Callaway had spoken to the members of his evening class as to the possibility of helping their brethren on the coast, who were more affected by the famine than themselves; and they had responded by bringing him the next evening thirty shillings collected from their own small means.

*To the* REV. EDMUND VENABLES.

"*Spring Vale, February* 22, 1869. . . . It has been a very arduous, uphill work. How different things have been from what I expected when we used to talk of such matters at Bonchurch! I expected to escape for the rest of my life from controversy, and to work at the practical work of bringing men to God. But I soon found that there were bitter personal feelings at work, and self-seeking and party-spirit. . . . I stayed at Pietermaritzburg about three years, having a white congregation and native work. During all that time I was like a man working in a strait-jacket. . . . It was a very trying time—a time in which, more than any other perhaps, I was obliged to separate the real groundwork of Christianity from the accessories which men had heaped upon it. And I came to the conclusion that the Foundation is sure for ever, and that it is about the accessories of human addition that men for the most part quarrel. . . . I was glad to get

to my work here; and a very hard work it was in every way for several years. But things are now wonderfully opening up. I cannot see the possible limit of the development of what we have begun, if only we could get men,—suitable earnest men,—and means. It is remarkable that very few who have ever come into close connexion with our mission seem able to shake off the influence. I have baptised 132, and at the present time there is a great awakening in the natives around us. . . .

"You ask about our daily life. . . . We get up with the sun (in winter before the sun) and I work till 7.30, when we have a white service, shortened by necessity, followed by a native service. . . . When breakfast is over, Janie and I go to see the cattle, pigs, and garden; at 9 I get into study and spend the time till 12 or 1 in translation, teeth-drawing, giving medicine, listening to troubles, settling disputes, etc. (At 10 there is school, about 60 to 70 children.) After dinner I get a rest, and generally read some light book till 3, when there is afternoon school, which the elder boys and girls attend, and as many women as are able, who are taught sewing. I am again in my study till 4 or 4.30 . . . [then] we ride or walk. After tea study till 9—at 9 supper—and general reading till 10, 11, or 12 according to my fancy. . . .

"Every four weeks I go, and Janie with me, to the other station, where we have a larger white congregation than here. The intermediate services are taken by natives and by the white printer. . . . There is besides the secular department of the mission to be

attended to; I have however got my men into such order that this causes me very little trouble.

"In detail our daily work is almost infinitely varied. This is a beautiful climate on the whole, few days that are unbearably hot, scarcely any that are painfully cold. The summer is our wet season, sky clouded and the heat of the sun thereby mitigated. In winter a clear blue cloudless sky for months together, the whole country dry, clouds of dust in every direction. A pleasant time when there is no wind, but very disagreeable when there is.

"We have a nice cottage and good out-buildings; our garden supplies us abundantly with vegetables and fruits—at the present time our trees are breaking down with peaches, and many barrowfuls are given to the pigs—our dairy supplies butter and milk—our chickens eggs—our pigs pork, our sheep mutton. Thus in the wilderness we have all we want. We produce for ourselves everything but groceries and clothes. It is a happy life; like the old abbeys, *mutatis mutandis*. The natives around us are growing. They do not advance in civilisation so rapidly as we could wish, but there is a wonderful change and improvement. . . .

"The Colony has become almost bankrupt; the enormous falling off of imports has caused a great diminution of the income of the Colonial Government. This imperatively demands a reduction of expenditure; they are cutting off in every direction, and I expect daily to hear that the grant to this mission will be stopped or considerably reduced It is used for

my printing-press, which is almost wholly supported by Government. But they appear to be thinking that the absolutely necessary must take precedence of the desirable, and we cannot wonder if they conclude that comparative folk-lore is rather a luxury to be attended to by a poor exchequer."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, September* 14*th*, 1869. . . . I think our work as a mission is progressing. We appear to have a widespread influence, and people like to gather round us ; but we can never tell with such a people. We probably stand out before them as the *least of evils* rather than as any great good. They are uncertain, and sometimes when we have reason to hope that all is going on well, something happens to damp our hopes to the uttermost, and to lead us to fear that all the apparent good that we have done or may be doing is an illusion.

"I am getting on with the translation. You know, I suppose, that S.P.C.K. granted me £800 for printing the Bible and Prayer-book in Zulu. I have a 'committee' of natives sitting on the translation! Each of the three natives has a translation by some one else in his hand, and I read ours, verse by verse. We do not get on ver fast, but I am quite satisfied with what we have done. It corroborates me in the belief that hitherto nothing has been printed which at all approaches to what ours will be when completed. But I sadly want more help—such as I sometimes

think my two boys might have given me were they living now! . . . There is so much a young hand might help me in—copying corrected MSS., taking care of plants, etc., when collected, and many of which are lost through my being unable to attend to them. I am collecting the snakes of Natal . . . and hope to get up a paper on the native snakes and poisons. . . . I should like to mount them well, and when mounted give them to the museum of the Natal Society."

About the same time Dr. Callaway wrote to Mr. Bullock that he was making good progress with Part III. of the *Amazulu*, and found that it would probably be necessary to run into a fourth volume to make the work complete. A treatise on "Sorcery and Superstitions," which was to form the subject of the fourth part, was, he thought, "as important to aid in the comprehension of a people's mind as their more strictly religious theories." It was the more depressing therefore that the Government threatened to withdraw their grant, and thus to render the work for the time practically useless.

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, December 17th*, 1869. From habit I have written Spring Vale, but I am at Pietermaritzburg—I left home on Monday to do some Church work here; discuss some matters with other clergy; to preach; and to speak at a missionary meeting. . . . We are a most happy party at Spring Vale—hard worked, but cheerful and contented. . . . The

peculiarities of mission-work are so great that good people in another position are all at fault as missionaries."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, January* 18*th*, 1870. . . . The Ladies' Association has given me a young lady, Miss Newland, to help, and the S.P.G. has given me, or is to give me, a S. Augustine's student at £125 a year to be with me for a time, to study mission-work and Dutch, that he might in connexion with me become a missionary to the Griquas.

"I told you some time ago . . . that I am writing some lectures on 'Spiritual Manifestations' for the Natural History Society here. I have had the lectures copied for you, and send them by this mail. . . . I should like to send you three sermons I preached some time ago on a very difficult subject—Satan tempting David to number Israel. That was the text, and the subject the laws which regulate the growth or degradation of a human spirit, showing that there are laws as unalterable and determinate in the spiritual as in the physical world . . . liable to be constantly counteracted and practically set aside by some other laws. The notion of a special election to grace or condemnation seems to me to be swept away utterly. . . . I am sure the nineteenth-century mind requires something different from the humdrum of the past. Men have reached a different standpoint, and see things—not a bit less true and real than formerly—from a different side; it is needful to gather up for

them all the truths which man has discovered in the past—as distinct from man's *opinion* about truth—and to add to them the mighty truths of the present. . .

"I used as a young man to groan under my secular occupations. . . . It sometimes seemed to me that the more I cried to be delivered like Jeremiah from the prison 'lest I should die there,' the more secular work God gave me, till at times it felt to me as if I had really 'died there' and all was over. Even now there is an immense amount of strictly secular work on my shoulders, but [such duties] become very light when we can say 'these too are a part of my ministry,' and strive to attend to them for God's sake and not for their sake or the love of them.

"The S.P.C.K. has put me in a fix—they sent me some type, &c., and object to my using a portion of their grant to erect a building to put it in. And I have actually built a cottage for printers, and an office, now nearly complete."

"So far as the native literature is concerned," he wrote at this time, "I am doubtful whether I shall ever begin [to print] Part IV.; it would take nine months, and the grant is to cease in June."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, April 4th*, 1870. . . . I was requested to get up a small service-book in Zulu for schools and families. This I did, and as usual sent copies to the papers. The *Witness* had what it called a review; but it was an attack on the Zulus and the Zulu language, evidently by someone ignorant of both. [My

reply] called out a leader in which was deprecated all intention of finding fault with me or the work, but reiterating its attack on the Zulu language. . . . So I wrote the article in question, which is to be printed in pamphlet form. It is rather peppery perhaps and severe in some places, but I believe it has done good and excited a good deal of surprise and interest. I shall send you three copies for yourself, Max Müller, and Edward Tylor. . . .

"I have just completed the translation of the Psalms into Zulu, and am engaged in revising the New Testament, and am passing the Psalms through the Press, and a Zulu Reading Book, and Part IV. of the Religious System of the Zulus. . . . Trübner suggests that I should get influential men in Natal to guarantee me from loss by becoming subscribers. He offers to be a subscriber himself and to take 150 copies. . . . But I do not think there is any chance of getting any number of subscribers in Natal. We are all poor to the last degree. . . .

"My people are becoming so numerous that it is necessary to provide for them some remunerative kind of labour, and I have determined to try castor-oil and cotton. . . . The people came to me a little after Christmas and begged me to find them labour, as they did not wish to leave home in search of it. I told them I could not pay them wages for unremunerative labour—if they would work honestly and steadily I would try cotton for them. . . .

"We are getting a congregation of whites settling around us; they are interfering with and disturbing a

good deal the natives. They are taking up the land, and the natives have no place to herd in and have to go further back. . . . No efforts made artificially can preserve them from quiet extinction. . . . It is possible that they may try an issue of strength with us. We are disturbing them in many ways, taxing them, making them pay rent—making them work,—beginning to interfere by law with their customs, and unsettling them in many ways; and we do not give much in return that they can appreciate. They have security for life and property, good roads, market for produce and labour—that is if they choose to be producers and to work—and thus the means of being and of living better is brought home to them. But when they put these things in the scale against what they are obliged to give up, they think very little of the advantages, and it is said that many are emigrating from the Colony.

"Moshesh, the Basuto chief, is dead. . . . The people will now probably try to exalt some other chief and build their hopes on him to drive the white man into the sea, and gain again their native hills and valleys. Cetshwayo, the son of Mpanda the Zulu chief, is thought a great deal of. It is quite possible he may form a temporary centre. It is said he is purchasing guns and powder to fight with the Transvaal Dutch; if he should be successful against them he will try with us. They have great faith in guns, and imagine that we owe our success entirely to them, forgetting that the most important thing is the 'thing behind the gun.'"

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, October* 15*th*, 1870. . . . I have long thought that we are utterly unable to tell what is needed for a fellow-spirit, and when I see earnestness, and a grasping of essential Christian truth, I look at that with thankfulness; and whilst seeing that the orbit is different from that in which I may be circling the Central Life, yet there are points of intersection . . . which show that it is one Central Power which is attracting both of us. . . . I cannot help believing that God is revealing Himself everywhere to each human spirit—by various means and in various ways—in some way suited to the infinitely various conditions of different spirits, and in some direct proportion to their receptivity of divine light. . . . When I see another, whether child or man, stretching out his hands to God—even though I see that it is done without that real appreciation of God's character which Christ would teach us as He taught the woman of Samaria—I would not rudely find fault with that want of appreciation, but encourage that stretching out of the hands to God; feeling sure that that at least is His work,—that He has begun it, raised the wish, given rise to the devout approach to Himself, and that He will Himself correct the mistake. . . . The Samaritan I doubt not met his God at Gerizim, as well as the Jew in the Temple; Antony in his cell . . . as well as Moses in the burning bush. And I cannot but believe that the yearning of the heathen spirit—the stretching-out of spirit through dark and terrible rites—is the stretching

out of the spirit after God, and is recognised and blessed by the Father of spirits. . . .

"We had yesterday a very nice visit from Bishop Wilkinson, the lately ordained Bishop of Zululand. . . . He confirmed for Bishop Macrorie thirty-four,—thirty-one of whom were natives,—and on Sunday last fifty-two communicated. It was a precious day, and made me feel very happy and very encouraged. In the evening I appointed Umpengula, a native teacher, to preach. He preached a capital sermon, on 'Be ye followers of God as dear children,' and I doubt whether a better sermon was preached during the day in Natal."

*To the Same.*

"*Durban, July 7th,* 1871. . . . I believe that did any theologian attempt to support Christianity with a hundredth part of the gaps in the evidence [that Darwin has in his theory] he would be cried down for a fool. But my conviction is that we are on the eve of great changes which I believe will be for the better. We have been accustomed to regard the Bible as the only Revelation made by God to man, and some . . . believe its words, even when speaking of natural phenomena incidentally, to be a revelation and scientifically true. The first breach made in this dark fortress of past misbelief was the growing feeling among men—arising, though they knew it not, from the greater prevalence of the real spirit of Christianity—that it was impossible that an all-loving and almighty God should leave the world for generations without that Light by which

alone it could see light. And now increasing knowledge of man has brought out clearly to the light that God has not left Himself without witness among them, but that God's testimony both in nature and in human spirits has aroused men to such a knowledge as is really Divine. . . . We have been accustomed to despise all religious knowledge formed without Christianity, thus raising up an image of a horrible God and consigning to perdition the masses of mankind. I have no doubt that new views which are now being rapidly developed will in many respects very materially alter men's notions of Christianity; but Christianity as the highest of God's revelations will stand, and the accretions of human imaginations be taken away from it. My own idea is that ultra-theologians on the one hand, and such philosophers as Darwin and Spencer [on the other], will have each to give and take from the other. At present they are in antagonism, and both are in error; and they are fighting about the errors rather than about the truth. . . .

"Miss Townsend tells me that the Anthropological Institute has read and discussed and is to print my paper which I sent you on Ghosts, etc. . . . I am here on my way to Zululand for the purpose of consulting with the Zulu missionaries on the subject of translations. I gave a lecture last evening at the Athenæum Club, on Herbert Spencer's Social Statics, to a crowded room. I preach this evening, and twice on Sunday. On Monday I start to 'trek'—that is 'picnic'—to Zululand. How I wish I could have you with me! You would so enjoy it. The oxen travel about

three miles an hour, and go about twenty a day. We have time to get out and [hunt?] the neighbourhood if so inclined, and on halting pitch our tents and have a very cosy time of it. I sleep in the waggon, Mr. Broadbent in one tent, and the men in another."

*To* MISS BUTTON.

"*Umhleli, July* 13*th*, 1871. . . . God is ever working and never tired; so His working is His rest. His rest and work are both eternal—He works and rests in the 'eternal *now*.' Put 'ceased' for 'rested' and it becomes another thing and gives another idea—'He ceased from His works,' viz. those relating to that special act of creation in this world. We must not extend it farther. 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work.' . . . ."

*To* ——

"*Spring Vale, October* 1*st*, 1871. . . . I have started an evening class for young men. It is strange to see these great strong fellows, who have spent the day at hard work, sitting down patiently to write round hand, and to learn reading from a little Kaffir spelling-book. The natives are extremely fond of music, and can sing many of the old rounds and glees one knows in English schools."

*To* MR. HANBURY.

"*Spring Vale, October* 20*th*, 1871. . . . I am getting on with the Bible; I am printing the Prophets, and

have got to the end of Lamentations. Genesis is also in print. But the means at my disposal for this work are not only limited, but hedged round with conditions which are sadly cramping and hindering. And what is it to be for? Is this people to die away, as others have here? Or will they if they survive, in some modified form, the 'struggle for existence' use the language I am working at? Will South African diamonds and gold sweep both people and language away into the deep fathomless abyss of the past?

"'Pangenesis'! I want to know something more definite about what men mean by it. . . . If I take in the meaning attached to it, it seems to me to require a huge faith, or rather credulity, to accept it. *Physical* truth it is not, if true; and metaphysical—well, I do not believe any metaphysician would accept it. It is a strange mixture of imagination and observation.

"I am reading Darwin's *Descent of Man*. . . . It is but an hypothesis. But the number of physical facts which are brought together in the book will cause thousands to look upon Darwin's hypothesis as a philosophical system, resting on observed facts as a foundation, and proved by them. . . . To get fully into the subject requires reference to books which I have not by me, and which are not in the Colony. . . .

"My work just now seems growing in importance, and my sphere of action to be extending beyond Spring Vale. But to enter into all the matters which come before me, requires an iron constitution. I scarcely know any rest, except for a day or two, when I am really forced to it by overwork."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, February 8th*, 1872. . . . Very many thanks for *Fraser's Magazines*, containing Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Religion. . . . With an infinitely less amount of reading, and rather, as it were, by instinct and *à priori* reasoning, I have for years held the position now taken up by Max Müller, and have regarded that position as absolutely necessary on Scriptural grounds. The opposite opinion, which restricts the knowledge of God, God's saving grace and efficacious operation among men, to Christian countries, is a godless heresy whoever maintains it; and not only so, but I feel very strongly, that whoever maintains it does thereby prove that he does not understand the Christian Revelation, and that he is most effectually barring the way against its light. . . . I have from time to time spoken out very strongly on the subject, as last year in a sermon on the *Education of the World* . . . [but] I have been shy of being too forward with the teaching. It tells perhaps more widely than Max Müller is himself aware of; I think I see the bearings of it, and the necessary results, deep and practical, which must follow its acceptance; and yet it may be I do not see how widely its acceptance may affect current theological teaching."

*To the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*Spring Vale, November 28th*, 1872. . . . A great change in very many ways has taken place since I

have been in Natal and in this neighbourhood. The native mind has opened, and they now listen with intelligence to what appeared to them formerly nothing but fables. The belief in God—that is, in a Creator and Lord of all,—is extensively taking possession of the native mind, not as yet expelling the old faith and worship of dead ancestors, but contending with it and ultimately destined to displace it."

*To the Same.*

"*Spring Vale, March 17th*, 1872. . . . They have been speaking to me of becoming Bishop of a diocese that is to be created if possible for Kaffraria, the country farther south. But I have no idea that it would be right to quit my present position. I have taken root here, and should not transplant well; unless God transplant me with His own Hand. . . . There is a great deal of work which no one else will do if I do not, cut out for me."

Notwithstanding which, before many months had passed, the transplantation had taken place, and the work was destined to be finished—if it were to be finished at all—by other hands.

Here seems the time to review the literary work of Dr. Callaway, especially his contributions to the anthropology and folk-lore of South Africa. For the two chapters which follow I am indebted to the pen of Miss G. M. Godden.

# CHAPTER XIII

Research into native life and tradition—Difficulties of investigation—Lang and Codrington—Early work—Method—Scientific study of primitive records—E. B. Tylor—Zulu folk-tales—Elucidation in customs and mental attitude of tale-tellers—Employment of comparative method.

THE scientific work of Bishop Callaway possesses a two-fold value. With a mind already trained by his early profession of medicine, he began the study of native life on reaching Kaffraria, and continued it for nearly thirty years. We have thus the careful observation of a man living long in the midst of his subject. But beyond this, it is the spontaneous outgrowth of gradual familiarity with, and growing interest in, the material around him. From the preconceived theory and the artificial point of view the permanent part of his work may be said to be practically free. The facts that he preserved are not lifeless selections arranged in arbitrary classifications. They are the living thoughts and habits of a primitive race, told in the native speakers' own words, and illustrated by the translator's intimate knowledge of native life.

An active and keenly-observant mind, permitting no theories or formulas to vitiate the simple presentation of fact, and living in daily contact and increasing intimacy with the forms of life under study, should yield a valuable record. The following chapters contain a brief sketch of this record, and the methods by which it was attained.

As early as 1855 Dr. Callaway was attempting to arrive at the religious beliefs of the Kaffirs, but was consciously hampered by his then imperfect knowledge of the language. Three years later he writes of "dictation lessons" received from different Kaffirs, on such subjects as their habits, traditions, and belief, not only with a view to acquiring the language, but also for the intrinsic value of the information itself; and his Journal, for this and the two following years, abounds in valuable notes of native customs and beliefs, with some graphic sketches of native life. By 1860–1, six years after his first arrival in Africa, many hundred pages of Kaffir manuscript tales, myths, and customs, had accumulated.

The Journal of 1860 has an admirable passage on the peculiar care needed in investigations of this nature:—"It is very important whilst tracing out their traditions to be careful not to mingle with them suggestions of our own, or thoughts which they have already had suggested to them by others." This is an interesting anticipation of the warnings published more than twenty years later by two leading writers

on the subject—Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Codrington,[1] and Mr. Andrew Lang.[2]

In 1861 Dr. Callaway published a pamphlet, of which he writes in a letter, "I think it will interest all who wish to know something of the Kaffir mind and habits of life." In the same letter he comments on the omission, in some cases, of "any profound consideration of the Kaffir's mode of thought and conduct on moral and religious subjects"; adding that he already had much material on native traditions, religious notions, and practices, with a brief summary of what then seemed to him the mainsprings of these traditions.

The pamphlet is a Kaffir's autobiography, with a careful footnote or two on native usages, and in a letter Dr. Callaway speaks of it as perhaps more instructive for Kaffir thought and custom "than a formal essay." Here he touches the special value of his own work, in bringing before us a living and not formal presentment of primitive life.

A paper written in the following year, on the question of tolerating polygamy among Kaffir Christians, investigates with characteristic thoroughness the nature of the native marriage laws. The paper affords a good instance of the value of Dr. Callaway's work for research, even when pursued with no scientific aim. "We must know what polygamy

[1] "The questions of the European are a thread on which the ideas of the native precipitate themselves."—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, February, 1881.

[2] *Myth, Ritual, and Religion.* Appendix B, p. 336.

as it exists around us is, before we can come to any conclusion as to the propriety of tolerating it in the Church." He accordingly proceeds to discuss the subject with a careful, if rather one-sided, effort to disclose the real practical working of the native marriage law. In an appendix the native marriage contract and its significance is dealt with in detail.

Dr. Callaway's letters of 1863 give various notes of Kaffir life and thought, and in this year there is a pathetic cry for time in which to devote himself to his materials. We must bear in mind that his was not the work of a professed student, but was accomplished amid the incessant labour of developing the physical, mental, and spiritual resources of his district.

In 1866 Dr. Callaway, as the local secretary for Natal of the Anthropological Society, sent an interesting letter to the journal of the Society, in which he comments on some suppositions of M. Broca, and gives in detail analogous Kaffir evidence and its intent. The letter is an example of the instructive light thrown on theories by a scientific knowledge of facts. A letter written two years later gives a glimpse of his activity in research into the native pharmacopœia, "I have now four hundred names of plants. . . . but after all it is a history of superstition rather than of medicine."

These early years were not only occupied by entries in journals and letters, and occasional pamphlets. A thorough knowledge of the language, and the incidental accumulation of a mass of what may be called native

literature, was vigorously pursued. It is this material which formed the first work published by Dr. Callaway, namely, his collection of Zulu folk-tales and traditions ; —the traditionary tales of the natives' forefathers "in the same words as they have heard them around their hut fires."

How this book came into existence may best be told in Dr. Callaway's own words. Finding himself almost without printed aid in his study of the Zulu language, he early began "to write at the dictation of Zulu natives, as one means of gaining accurate knowledge of words and idioms. . . . A native is requested to tell a tale ; and to tell it exactly as he would tell it to a child or a friend ; and what he says is faithfully written down . . . what has been thus written can be read to the native who dictated it; corrections be made ; explanations be obtained ; doubtful points be submitted to other natives; and it can be subjected to any amount of analysis the writer may think fit to make. Such is the history of the mode in which the original Zulu, here presented to the public, has been obtained."[1]

But as the materials increased a further value soon became apparent—"they became not merely a means of learning the Zulu language, but also a means of obtaining a knowledge of Kaffir customs, histories, mode of thought, religion, &c. And what was commenced as a mere exercise-lesson was soon pursued with the further object of discovering what was the character of the mind of the people. . . ; and of

[1] First preface to the Zulu Tales.

endeavouring to trace out their connexion with other nations by the similarity which might exist in their traditions and myths, their nursery tales and proverbs." In a preface to the complete volume in 1868, Dr. Callaway says: "The issue of the First Part aroused a spirit of enthusiasm among the natives of the village who were able to read,[1] and several came and offered themselves as being capable of telling me something better than I had printed. From this source of information thus voluntarily tendered I have obtained by far the best part of the contents of this Volume."

The result is a book of 374 pages, in parallel columns of Zulu and English, with numerous notes.

It is hardly necessary to point out the value that work, so unbiased by *à priori* theory, and so accurate, must have for any scientific study of primitive peoples. Some space has been given to the way in which this book came together as throwing a strong light on Dr. Callaway's character as an active-minded observer, quick to perceive the value of the human document growing under his hand, and rigorous in the scientific method of his work.

In the preface to the complete volume, he says: "I have been feeling my way all along; and have discovered that there exists among the people a vast store of interesting traditional tales, which may yet be collected; and it is possible that I have only just learnt the way of collecting them."

Of the worth of the material Dr. Callaway speaks with no uncertain note. Such legends, he says, are

[1] The book is printed in Zulu as well as English.

"the history of a people's mind in one phase of its existence." And beyond the tribal Kaffir interest—"The least incident which can throw light on the nature and history of man. . . . becomes a treasured fact to be placed among that ever accumulating mass of materials from which hereafter a faithful record of man as he was in the past, and of the causes which have influenced him, and the varying states through which he has passed to the present, shall be compiled."

But the mere assertion of the worth of any series of facts is a barren thing unless some effort be made to read their significance. The vexed question of whether the occurrence of similar legends in the most remote countries and times indicates early racial union, or simply the prevalence of similar conditions of life and thought, had been stated, three years before the publication of these Zulu tales, by Dr. Tylor in his first work on early culture. The ever-recurring problem of the student of comparative mythology, Dr. Tylor says, is to distinguish between racial connexion, and "analogies which may be nothing more than the results of the like working of the human mind under like conditions."[1] It is this latter method, the method of interpreting myth and legend by tracing in the varying stages of human development the varying forms of thought common to those stages,—that was put forward by Dr. Callaway as early as 1868, although among English writers it waited for Dr. Tylor's work on *Primitive Culture* published in 1871,

[1] *Early History of Mankind*, p. 333.

and Mr. Andrew Lang's more popular handling of the same subject in his *Myth, Ritual and Religion* of 1887, to bring the new learning systematically to the light.

Legends such as these Dr. Callaway says in his preface of 1868, "if carefully studied and compared with corresponding legends among other people, . . . will bring out unexpected relationships, which will more and more force upon us the great truth, that man has everywhere thought alike, because everywhere, . . . under every varying social and intellectual condition, he is still man,—one in all the essentials of man, . . . one in his mental qualities, tendencies, emotions, passions." We may place beside this, the words of Dr. Tylor published three years later in his *Primitive Culture*:—"The treatment of similar myths from different regions, by arranging them in large compared groups, makes it possible to trace in mythology the operation of imaginative processes recurring with the evident regularity of mental law; and thus stories of which a single instance would have been a mere isolated curiosity, take their place among well-marked and consistent structures of the human mind."[1] And again "legend, when classified on a sufficient scale, displays a regularity of development which the notion of motiveless fancy quite fails to account for, and which must be attributed to laws of formation. . . . So uniform indeed is such development, that it becomes possible to treat myth as an organic product of mankind at large, in which individual, national, and

[1] *Primitive Culture*, edition 1873, I, pp. 282—9.

even racial distinctions stand subordinate to universal qualities of the human mind."[1]

The solitary student in Africa and the most notable of living English anthropologists reached, though under widely different circumstances, the same conclusion.

The book was published under the somewhat unfortunate title of the *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, and in the cumbrous form of parallel Zulu and English text, with many notes. Accounts of fabulous animals, fables, &c., are added "in order to give a more general idea of the native mind." The work had of course also its missionary point of view, as giving the necessary knowledge of the Kaffir mind and mode of thought; but with that we are not concerned here.

Among the reviews which appeared, those of Professor Max Müller[2] and Dr. Bleek[3] are of interest. Professor Max Müller comments on the praise deserved by the author in breaking ground on the at first sight unattractive and unpromising field of African tradition, and notes the difficulties involved in the collection of these tales. Of their worth he says, "fifty years hence the collection of these stories may become as valuable as the few remaining bones of the dodo."

Dr. Bleek draws attention to the effective manner in which some of these tales are told,—"nothing .... could be better than the episode of Uthlakanyana's

[1] *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 415.
[2] *Saturday Review*, 1867.
[3] In an African paper.

getting the cannibal's mother boiled instead of himself." The story of Uzembeni he believed to be "fully equal to many of Grimm's household tales." He notes also the elements of wonder and romance in the tales:—"Cannibals; people like the Yahoos of Gulliver; creatures who resemble a man cut in half, with one leg and one arm; horrible monsters, of gigantic proportions, who are able to devour whole armies of cattle and men, trees, &c., which come safely out again when the monster is cut up . . ." To these "ingredients drawn from the witch cauldron of early native imagination" a word should be added as to the more graceful plots; the love stories, though still with elements of the miraculous; the helpful beasts; and the lost, transformed, or hidden children that are given back again to their parents.

But for our present purpose the notes claim chief notice. It was Dr. Callaway's method to let the facts recorded stand by themselves, and to confine all comments to footnotes and appendices. The result is a modestly hidden wealth of investigation. Thus in one tale the miraculous powers of an infant hero are illustrated by Irish folk-lore, Northern European usage, Danish tradition, and analogous opinions held by Luther concerning demon children. To the charming tale of Usikulumi, the hero of which no spear could slay, a note is added on the incident of invulnerability, based on the principle of seeking the explanation of irrational story in the mental state and ordinary habits of the story-teller, a method perhaps

too exclusively credited to Mr. Andrew Lang's recent volumes. After citing the instance of Balder,

"Whom no weapon pierced or clave,"

Dr. Callaway says: "Whether such a legend arose spontaneously all over the world, or whether, having had an origin in some poetical imagining, it has travelled from a common centre, and become modified in its journeying in accordance with place and circumstances, it is not easy to determine. The possibility of a hero rendering himself invulnerable by medicinal applications, is not only quite within the compass of a Zulu's imagination, but appears to be something that would very naturally suggest itself to him. At the present time he has his *intelezi*, plants of various kinds, by which he can ensure correctness of aim: his assegai flies to the mark not because of his skill, but because his arm has been anointed. And the doctors medicate a troop before going to battle, to render it invulnerable to the weapons of the enemy."

At the conclusion of the tale of Untombinde, with its many-syllabled monster the Isikqukqumadevu, Dr. Callaway cites monster legends from Greek, Italian, Highland, German, Polynesian, Hindoo, Mussulman, American Indian, and Northern myth and lore, and adds: "The untrained mind naturally looks outside itself for a power to aid or to destroy; and sees in all striking natural phenomena, and in all unusual and unaccountable events, the presence of a personal agency; and nothing is more natural than to proceed to a description of the imaginary agent,—to clothe the idea with a

form more or less in correspondence with the characteristics of the visible phenomenon whether of terror or of health-giving; and then to give it a 'local habitation and a name.'" It is unnecessary to point out what light this brief sentence throws on all the embodied terrors that have fought with men from the "dread Charybdis," to that Polynesian Kupe's "monstrous cuttlefish" who would devour canoe and crew together. In such scattered notes as these, inserted in the arduous Zulu translation, we best realise the loss sustained by comparative research when Dr. Callaway entered the mission service.

The difficult task of distinguishing between purely native legend, and imported products, is touched on in a note on the possibility of Zulu contamination with early Semitic literature *viâ* mediæval traders, and with Northern Africans *viâ* the probable Hottentot migration, and in a curious legend taken to arise from a perverted tradition of the Life of Christ, probably introduced by the Portuguese. Concerning the tale of Ukcombekcantsini Dr. Callaway anticipates the subject to which Mr. Hartland has lately devoted so much space,—the miraculous birth,—citing analogies from many sources. The world-wide belief in the oracular and mysterious powers of birds and their capacity for communicating with men is dealt with in an appendix to the tale of Ukcombekcantsini. A strange case is quoted at length of reputed comprehension of the meanings and sayings of a wagtail, by the brother of one of the bishop's natives, and Zulu instances of bird-oracles are given. Space does not permit quotation of

the instructive native account of the man, and of the origin and limitation of his divining powers; but the remarks which close the long array of analogies show too clearly the important fact of savage confusion, in arguing from effect to cause, to be passed over. Speaking of a subsequent account of the habits of the honeybird, Dr. Callaway says: "It is quite possible that many of the superstitions relating to birds had their origin in such or similar manifestations as are here described. The childlike mind has no theory to support; it makes no arbitrary distinctions between intelligence as manifested by man, and intelligence as manifested by brutes; where it sees actions implying intelligence, there it believes intelligence exists. Such a thought is probably at the bottom of the theory of transmigration, and of the possibility of there being an inter-communication between man and the lower animals." The concluding application of the principle may be too limited for the wide phenomena involved, but this does not invalidate the value of the principle itself.

Appendices of special interest deal with native food taboos, and with primitive law, with details of the intricate laws of the inheritance, precedence, and so forth, in the polygamic households of a Zulu chief.

It has been necessary to devote some space to this book, which is now out of print and probably little known, in order to give any adequate idea of Dr. Callaway's method and results. The above sketch may close with the final words of the preface, written in 1866. "I would remind those who may read the follow-

ing pages that 'he who first undertakes to bring into form the scattered elements of any subject can only accomplish his task imperfectly.' No one will be more sensible of the many imperfections that mark my work than I am myself. If, however, the result of my labours be to lead others to a deeper study of the Kaffir language, and so to a deeper knowledge of the Kaffir people; and by their own investigations to fill up the gaps which exist in many subjects here brought before them, I shall be satisfied."

# CHAPTER XIV

"Religious System of the Amazulu"—Native beliefs and ritual—Ancestor-worship—Recalling the dead—Ancestral and healing snakes—Prayer—Divination and familiar spirits—Tribal songs—Wide range of investigation—Native visions, diviners and clairvoyance—Zulu language—Native thought and expression—Native law and premature legislation.

THE legendary tales of the Zulus were hardly through the press before the publication of the first part of Dr. Callaway's chief work—*The Religious System of the Amazulu*. Of the aim and method of this book he writes: "My object is to show that they have a well-defined religious system. Before it is possible to show what this system is, we must carefully collect, examine, and collate the traditions of the past and the present customs of the natives."

We need hardly inquire whether the motive of such work is a purely scientific one or not. That Dr. Callaway conceived that such an investigation was a most efficacious missionary instrument need not diminish its value for scientific research. If there is any danger that the motive would unconsciously influence the results, this danger is quite as potent for the

scientific investigator, with his mind necessarily full of preconceived theories, and trained to deal with facts as well as to record them.

The book was first published in four parts under the headings of: "The Tradition of Creation as existing among the Amazulu and Other Tribes of South Africa," "Amatongo; or, Ancestor Worship," "Diviners," and "Medical Magic and Witchcraft; this last part was unfortunately never completed. The form of double columns of Zulu and English, used in the legendary tales, was repeated, and many notes are given. A one-volume edition appeared in 1870, and a fresh edition was published by the Folk Lore Society in 1884.

The first part, chiefly occupied with the difficult subject of the native beliefs concerning the Creation, and First Man, called Unkulunkulu, was the outcome of long and careful investigations. In a letter of 1868 Dr. Callaway writes: "You will have received long before this reaches you the Unkulunkulu part.... I hope Max Müller will look at it.... There is much information in it utterly unknown to others, even to the oldest missionaries in South Africa." In an interesting letter, written in the same year to a local paper, he says, speaking of the discussions as to the word Unkulunkulu: "When a controversial spirit enters into any such discussion the judgment is blinded, and we attempt to support an opinion instead of steadily pursuing the subject in a scientific, truth-loving spirit. I have endeavoured faithfully to investigate the original tradition, and I have good grounds for being

persuaded of the general accuracy of the results of the investigation."

The difficulty of this portion of the work was enhanced by the fact of the material being legend and belief, rather than tangible rites and customs. The natives, Dr. Callaway thinks, without exception,[1] do not worship the remote First Cause, although possessing somewhat elaborate legends of creation and origin. Their ritual worship is reserved for the nearer Ancestral Spirits, in accordance with the Zulu creed—"the dead know all of the living, and continually help them and do not forsake them."[2] The first man, Unkulunkulu, is too far away; his "praise-giving name" is no longer known.

This first part is not only occupied by the legends accounting for the existence of men, animals, corn, fire, food, marriage, chieftainship, and so forth; there are also many valuable details of ritual in the matter of sacrifices and prayers; the strange legend of how death came into the world by reason of the tardiness of the first messenger sent by Unkulunkulu to say "Let not men die"; and an essay on the native beliefs and customs regarding the powers over the sky—in whose hands are the lightning and thunder,—and the "mysterious bird of Heaven" that descends in the thunderstorm, and whose fat enables the "Heaven doctors" to act on the heavens without injury to themselves.

In a passage on these beliefs we find a clear expression of the view which sees in widespread analogy

[1] *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 85. [2] *Ibid.* p. 176.

the outcome of a common culture, rather than of a common race. "In almost every country there is some such notion of a heavenly being,—a relic possibly of heaven-worship; or it may be merely a natural suggestion of the human mind, springing up spontaneously among different peoples, and everywhere leading to a similar conclusion, that where there are such manifestations of power, there is also a personal cause."[1] As Sir Henry Maine had written a few years earlier, "It is now clearly seen by all trustworthy observers of the primitive condition of mankind, that in the infancy of the race, men could only account for sustained or periodically recurring action by supposing a personal agent."[2]

Part II. is devoted to the "Amatongo; or Ancestor Worship." The native evidence is fully given on the nature of this worship, and on the intricate and exact ritual of the sacramental sacrifices; on the active belief in the power of the Amatongo to save and to injure; and on the snake form in which the deified spirit is supposed to come to man.

The pathetic rite is here described of calling back the ghost of a dead chief "from the open country to his home." After the sacrifice of an ox or a goat, the latter chosen because of the noise it makes when *pricked* before the sacrifice, 'we say, Come home again . . . . We are troubled if we never see you, and ask, why are you angry with us? for all the cattle are still yours; if you wish for meat, you can say so, and the cattle be slaughtered, without any one denying you.'

[1] *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 117. [2] *Ancient Law*, p. 4.

So the doctor of ubulawo [1] practises his art; he mixes the ubulawo, calling the dead man by name, and puts the ubulawo in the upper part of the hut, and says, 'I say, you will see him to-day, and talk with him; although you have not seen him for a long time, to-day he will be clear.' Such then is the means employed to bring back a ghost; it is brought back by sacrifice and ubulawo." [2]

The passage is of interest as showing the kind of record placed by this volume before students, as well as for its intrinsic value. The cry to the ghost to come home recalls the entreaty to the dead man's spirit of the Ho tribes of India :—

" We never scolded you; never wronged you;
Come to us back!
We ever loved and cherished you; and have lived long together
Under the same roof;
Desert it not now!
. . . . . .
Come to your home!
It is swept for you, and clean; and we are there who loved you ever;
And there is rice put for you; and water;
Come home, come home, come to us again!" [3]

The tribal and household nature of the worship is clearly marked; and the power for evil, especially as regards disease, which ill-disposed ancestral spirits can exert, with the elaborate propitiatory sacrifice and ritual. In a pamphlet on the Zulu language, speaking of the forms used in addressing these spirits, with

[1] A medicine made of roots of plants. See Dr. Callaway's instructive note on the uses and kinds of this magic preparation.—*Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 142.

[2] *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 143.

[3] *Primitive Culture*, E. B. Tylor, ed. 1873, II. p. 32.

their simple trust, and strange capacities of irreverence, Dr. Callaway says, "If they imagine they are suffering from the capricious malice of the dead they abuse and scold them . . . . they regard them as belonging to their own family."

In the method of "stopping out" a troublesome ghost by means of the doctors and "medicine," we have the converse to the rite of recalling a spirit.

The doctrine of transmigration is carried out with curious exactitude. The chiefs take the body of one kind of snake; the common people and chieftainesses another; a lame man is recognised in a lame snake; and a man with a scar by the scarred snake skin—"That is how they are known, for men usually have some marks, and the snakes into which they turn have similar marks. The man who had no marks speaks in dreams." And further, if a snake enter a house in a rapid lawless fashion "it is known to be the Itongo[2] of a man who was a liar. . . . and he is still a liar."

In one graphic tale of how an ancestral snake glided into a hut where his son lay sick, and cured the boy by touch, we seem to be rather among the healing snakes of the temples of Æsculapius, than in a Zulu kraal. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the "doctors" derive knowledge and power for healing from the ancestral spirits.

This second part concludes by native accounts of

[1] In an earlier part of the *Religious System of the Amazulu*, it is incidentally observed that the Amatongo are worshipped "more sedulously to avert evil than to acknowledge good."

[2] *I.e.* ghost.

ecstasy, dreams, and subjective apparitions, psychical phenomena which are intimately wrapped up with the Amatongo in the native mind.

The foregoing sketch of the two first parts of the book may indicate something of the vivid light they throw on the obscure region of primitive religious thought and custom. The following is a passage from the native account of the slaying and eating of cattle, translated from the original Zulu:—"When all is finished, the head man and another man who carries a feeding-mat go a little towards the head of the cattle-pen, and the head man says, 'Be perfectly silent.' And the assembly becomes very silent. He says, 'Yes, yes; our people, who did such and such noble acts, I pray to you—I pray for prosperity, after having sacrificed this bullock of yours. I say, I cannot refuse to give you food, for these cattle which are here you gave me. And if you ask food of me which you have given me, is it not proper that I should give it to you? I pray for cattle, that they may fill this pen. I pray for corn, that many people may come to this village of yours, and make a noise, and glorify you. I ask also for children, that this village may have a large population, and that your name may never come to an end.'"[1]

The remaining part of the book is devoted to Diviners, Medical Magic, and Witchcraft. In a letter

[1] In a long Appendix to Part I. under the heading "Utixo" (p. 105), Dr. Callaway enters in detail into the question of the name used by various South African peoples for their conception of the Deity. The Appendix includes a curious Zulu explanation of the praise-giving name of an ancient brave, similar in origin, Dr. Callaway thinks, to Utixo.

of 1870, speaking of the book, Dr. Callaway says, "I have now decided to add another part on Sorcery and Superstitions, which is perhaps as important to aid in the comprehension of a people's mind as their more strictly religious theories."

A mass of native evidence is collected on such subjects as the initiation of diviners and the tests to which the aspirant is subjected; the method of obtaining oracles from the diviner for cases of sickness; the mystic food which the diviners eat to gain clear insight; the power exerted through magic decoctions on distant persons; and the investing of a chief with knowledge of divination by the diviners. Perhaps one of the strangest narratives is that of the divination by familiar spirits. The spirits accompany the diviner, and answer the questions; demand food and cattle (consumed by the diviner); fight for their benefactors with the hostile spirits who are inflicting trouble; drop "things of wicked sorcery" from the ceiling; speak in a voice "like that of a very little child;"—and behave generally very much after the manner of all spirits from the days of Genesius to those of modern spiritualists.

Part III. concludes with a very detailed account of the native beliefs concerning the sky, sun and moon, and the various methods of "treating the heaven" in case of storm, drought, &c. An interesting note incidentally records that each tribe has its tribal or national song, called "The chief's song." This song is sung on two occasions only: on the feast of first-fruits, when if there has been continued drought

it is supposed to be capable of causing rain ; and secondly by an army overtaken by continuous rain on the march, in order that the rain may cease. Some of the chiefs' songs "consist of words more or less intelligible, and once had doubtless a well-understood meaning ; others of mere musical sounds which have no meaning whatever." This primitive and practical form of national anthem should be worth the notice of those interested in early literature, and obscure poetic fragments.

In the unfinished fourth part, on Medical Magic and Witchcraft, there is an account of a terrible tree, which is said to contend with men who would pluck its leaves, and to slay animals. This tree settled a contention between two rival "doctors" (both known to the narrator) by completely routing the inferior magician. The book breaks off in narrating the means taken by a "doctor" to prevent birds from destroying the corn. It is interspersed throughout with notes elucidating the text, citing native usage, and giving analogies from other peoples.

It is impossible in a brief sketch to do full justice to the mass of information and elucidation conveyed in such a volume as this. The whole range of savage life, both in the body and out of the body, passes before us. Every kind of savage rite, from solemn ritual sacrifice to the magical scarecrow, or the love charm of a Zulu swain, is here in vivid presentation. Had a selection been added on the social institutions of tribal and household law and custom, hardly any important branch of primitive life would have escaped

investigation.[1] This omission must be regretted, but where so much is given it is ungracious to complain. In the words of Dr. Tylor, written in an appeal for funds to complete the book on the unfortunate withdrawal of the Government grant, "It is scarcely too much to say that no savage race has ever had its mental, moral, and religious condition displayed to the scientific student with anything approaching the minute accuracy which characterises the half-completed works now threatened with an untimely end."

In 1871 Dr. Callaway contributed a valuable paper to the Anthropological Institute, on "Divination, &c., among the Natives of Natal." After an introductory sketch of some general mental phenomena, the paper passes to the African evidence under the headings of phenomena occurring spontaneously in certain exalted conditions of mind; self mesmerism; and the native divination. The first class includes those curious terrific "visions" which assaulted the newly converted Zulu, in strange repetition of the experiences of the early Christian Saints. We have also the nervous and brain disturbances which generally precede the power of divination, culminating in an accredited diviner, in tested powers of clairvoyance. It is noticeable that what the natives call "the disease which precedes the power to divine" runs in

[1] These subjects are dealt with in evidence given before a Government Commission in 1881, at present only accessible in the publications of the Colonial Office. See *infra*, p. 251.

a family. Dr. Callaway adds "these diviners, in their initiations, adopt a very similar process—fasting, watching, and bodily austerities—to that of the old Egyptian hermits, and other notabilities; . . . . the results in each case are similar, visions, inner voices, and clairvoyance." An example of the second class is given in the native way of finding lost property, by an "inner divination," possessed, though in diverse degrees, by ordinary men and herd boys. In order to "excite this inner power into activity, these savages adopt a plan precisely similar to that of certain mystics when they are waiting for inspiration. Like them, they attempt to effect intense concentration and abstraction of the mind,—an abstraction even from their own thoughts,—and, according to the statement, by this self-mesmerising process, become clairvoyant." Herd boys will "sit down and abstract themselves from all external things. While thus abstracted, an intimation arises . . . . that the cattle are in such a place; . . . . [and] the subject of it arises and runs off full speed to the place and finds the cattle." After describing the various classes of native diviners, the paper concludes by a curious tentative theory seeming to propound as a solution of these phenomena, not hypnotic action, or as yet unknown physical or psychic laws, but a human capacity for intercourse with spirits. This idea happily occupies too brief a space to impair the wealth of accurate fact and suggestive analogy in the paper.

Any account of Dr. Callaway's scientific work would be very imperfect which took no note of

his mastery over the Kaffir language. His conception of what the knowledge of a language involves was a high one. "Before fully understanding a language foreign to us, before we can use it as an instrument of thought we must learn not only the peculiarity of its words and idioms, but also the mental action of those who speak it. . . . We must think in the order of the Kaffir mind before we shall be able thoroughly to understand the Kaffir language." And again. . . . "it is not a knowledge of words or even of grammar that will alone enable any one to speak correctly; there are minute idioms which can only be understood by minute investigation and constant comparison of word with word and sentence with sentence, and a constant appeal to native authority."

In a pamphlet published in 1870, on "The Zulu Language," from which the above passages are taken, Dr. Callaway shows the remarkable richness of the vocabulary, and speaks of the precise grammar; the striking idiomatic structure; and the capacity for exact expression of thought. "The capacity of the language is indefinite in the power of constructing new words to meet new needs." The linguistic elaboration of the language seemed to him to indicate a degeneration in the present speakers from a former higher level. "It is the language of a pastoral and agricultural people; of a people thinking gravely and cleverly within a certain circle of thought. . . . an intensely superstitious people, who being unable to explain the phenomena of Nature

referred them to spiritual agencies, which however they attempted to control, and believed themselves capable of controlling, by incantations and medicines."

There is an instructive passage here on the existence of rudimentary ideas among undeveloped peoples: —"Religion among them is still rudimentary. . . . the idea of divinity is among the people, although as yet they have not expressed that idea in any fulness by a word. Their religion is very simple and the terms they use are quite sufficient for their felt religious needs."

The native habit of speech is admirably shown in the proof that a Zulu consciously and expressly reasons, but expresses the process in terms of his own experience:—"There is a plant called Umlunge; when dug up it is found to have a succession of tubers following each other in a line and intimately connected. . . . each tuber or *isigakca* is an argument, —and the chain of argument is *umlunge*, the connected tubers. . . . exactly. . . . as our chain of reasoning."

The clear insight and searching investigation which Dr. Callaway brought to bear on matters of importance appear in his examination of the problem of what Zulu words are fittest to translate prayer into the vernacular. He enters into the native mode of asking from all conditions of men; into familiar and disrespectful forms; into the forms used in addressing the ancestral spirits; and into the mode of addressing chiefs or great men, and the childlike feeling which underlies their seemingly vague petitions,—

"it is only necessary to tell my chief that I am suffering. He will know what to do to relieve me. . . . to ask in any other way is 'snatching' from the chief."

To the Zulu scholar the passages on the native use of the imperative, optative, and aorist should be of special interest. In 1874 Dr. Callaway received the degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford for his services in philology.

In 1881 a Government Commission was held to inquire into native laws and customs. Dr. Callaway gave evidence as to the native marriage law, and married women's property; and regarding the jurisdiction of native and English law in criminal cases. In answer to a Government circular of the same year he gave much evidence on criminal and civil jurisdiction; marriage and inheritance; land tenure; and local self-government. On all these questions he gave information drawn from his close acquaintance with the natives, concerning their systems and habits of thought, and the adaptation of these to a higher social morality. He reiterates the inexpediency of premature legislation, urging that the native social condition must be broken up by education, not by exterior force, and that legislation must be adapted to the native capacity to receive legislation.[1]

The foregoing pages attempt to sketch the origin of Dr. Callaway's scientific work, and to show the nature of the material, and of the results achieved.

[1] See the detailed reports printed in the Report of the Commission, vol. G, 4, 1883. Colonial Office.

The difficulty of such research is manifest, and the signal success attained by Dr. Callaway may in part be due to his clear perception of the arduous task before him. The initial difficulty of getting any religious material is considerable, "the native is naturally shy and unwilling to speak to a stranger of the deepest feelings of his spirit." Even the tales of the people are a hidden lore, held in the keeping of the women—"it is not common to meet with a man who is well acquainted with them or is willing to speak of them in any other way than as something which he has some dim recollection of having heard his grandmother relate." But the material being gained, a new obstacle arises in the need of obtaining it unadulterated by outside importation. "Nothing is more easy than to inquire of heathen savages the character of their creed, and during the conversation to impart to them great truths and ideas which they never heard before, and presently to have these come back again as articles of their own original faith. . . ." he says, in the *Religious System of the Amazulu*, repeating the warning written in his Journal ten years earlier. And given ample material, apparently free from all outside influence, yet another difficulty meets the investigator when he tries to understand his facts, —to pass from the position of the mere collector to that of the student. The privately printed and tentative *Introduction to the Religious System of the Amazulu* warns students of the "oral traditions of a savage and uncultivated people, now for the first time committed to writing," that possibly "the real

meaning of much contained in them must remain concealed from want of collateral information, which can be obtained only by living among the people, conversing with them in their own language, and becoming familiar with their order of mind and mode of thought." And if the fullest knowledge of the perfectly authenticated fact be attained, the danger has still to be guarded against of clouding the living fact by intellectual abstractions. "When we are speaking of a religion which differs from our own. . . . we speak of an abstraction. . . . But when we pass from the study into the world,—from the abstraction into the actual presence of men, everything is different. We then have to do with a living, thinking, struggling, feeling spirit." Science as well as religion has its bane of dogma, and it would be well if all research were carried out as closely to the living subject as was that of Dr. Callaway.

In reviewing the scientific achievement of these thirty years, it must not be forgotten that they were years of incessant pioneer labour, first as a district missionary, and, later, in the wild diocese of Kaffraria ; and also that it is the record of a man with fine natural gifts of observation and insight, but with little special training in research. That so much was achieved is the best proof of Dr. Callaway's scientific powers. His books and papers show a tireless industry and observation, taking advantage of every opportunity for gaining a new fact, or elucidating an old one. He possessed a full sense of the need of understanding facts, as well

as of merely recording them ; and a power of sifting,—of aiming at the essential and vital, and separating it from the superficial and apparent. And although his work, limited as it was by the constant pressure of other claims on his time and energy, has its chief value in the unworked material it conveys, there is betrayed in it the true student's sense of the laws which are his aim, behind the phenomena which he laboriously classifies.

# CHAPTER XV.

The Episcopate of South Africa—Position of Kaffraria—Its missionary history—Petition to the Scottish Episcopal Church for a Bishop—Callaway invited to accept the office—Leave-taking and voyage to England—Consecration—"Missionary journeys"—Future plans—A physician's vocation.

SOME thirty-eight years before the time of which we are now writing—*i.e.* in 1847—had been founded the first Bishopric in South Africa. The Rev. Robert Gray was then consecrated Bishop of Capetown, a diocese which extended over 250,000 square miles, and included Natal, Grahamstown, the Orange River Sovereignty, Independent Kaffraria, and St. Helena. Five years later two new Bishops were appointed—Colenso to Natal, Armstrong (shortly succeeded by Cotterill) to Grahamstown; and in course of time St. Helena and the Orange River (Bloemfontein) were also formed into separate sees. The area over which each Bishop had charge was accordingly reduced; but missions had made such enormous progress year by year that the burden of work was still in some cases too heavy for one man's shoulders. Christian villages which had been separated from each other by a

hundred miles or more of heathen country were now sending out offshoots in all directions, and thereby ever widening the sphere of work.

As early as 1858 Bishop Colenso had spoken to Dr. Callaway of the need of a further extension of the Episcopate, and had mentioned him as the most suitable clergyman in Natal to be appointed to the Bishopric of Zululand if the plan could be carried out. Callaway, then in process of settling at Spring Vale, and with all his interests and hopes centred in this his own special creation, was not disposed to agree to the proposal; and it was a relief to find that the subject dropped for the time, or was only spoken of as a matter for future consideration. The stormy years that followed left no opportunity for the development of the scheme. But the Church in the Colony had once more settled down into comparative quiet, and in the interval the long-felt need was found to have become more urgent. Both Grahamstown and Natal were over-weighted, and it was found advisable to form a diocese between the two on the territory hitherto known as Independent Kaffraria.

This country had been visited in 1850 by Bishop Gray, who then found that there was not a single Church of England missionary within its borders. The only attempts at evangelisation were in a few scattered villages where Wesleyan ministers were doing good though of course quite inadequate work. The result of this visitation was that the Rev. H. T. Waters left his own parish of Southwell and settled in 1855 on the White Kei River, where sprang up the village of S.

Mark's. The work was very slow at first—the congregation consisted of the members of the mission-party and a few poor Hottentots, and Mr. Waters found it most difficult to impart any teaching, sacred or "secular," to those who could be induced to come to him. He recorded joyfully in 1860 that one Kaffir had advanced to long division! The subsequent history of the village was a strange one. The wild natives, though beginning to be drawn towards the white man and his teaching, were yet readily influenced by their own "prophets." One of these, professing to be interpreting a girl's dreams, declared that they had fallen under the displeasure of the "Amatongo" by renouncing the faith of their ancestors, and that favour would only be restored if they would lay waste their fields and gardens, destroy their store of provisions, and kill their flocks and herds. The spirits would then be propitiated, would come to life again and bring with them ample compensation for all that their children had sacrificed, and would turn out the English through whom all this trouble had come upon them. A spirit of fanaticism took possession of the whole tribe, and despite all that the missionaries could do or say they obeyed the command to the letter. And thus, as it were in a moment, thousands of people were cut off from every means of subsistence, and to their misery of hunger and cold was added that of finding that the gods they had trusted in had failed them, while they had turned away from the true God.

But this tragedy did for the Church what could not

have been done in so short a time by any other means. Mr. Waters remained at his post, and by means of Government help and out of his own private store he was able to give relief to crowds of starving people who must have perished without his help. The result was, first, personal devotion to the missionary who had thus sacrificed his own comfort for them, and, secondly, an increased appreciation of the Christianity which had taught him thus to return good for evil. Within two years there were 1,300 natives living at S. Mark's, submitting to Christian discipline, and each year numbers were admitted into the Church.

This marked success had encouraged others to try similar ventures. All Saints' was established in 1859, and S. Augustine's (so named in memory of the college where its founders had been trained for mission work) in 1865. At the latter place it was indeed uphill work—so wild and savage were the Pondomisi tribe whom they came to teach, that for three years not one convert was gained, and things were made worse by the desolation caused by war and famine. But the missionaries would not give up hope, and through their faith and perseverance Christianity began at length to take root, and to "bud and blossom" even in such a wilderness. These faithful workers were Mr. Key—the present Bishop of S. John's—and Mr. Dodd, with two native teachers.

Thus far had the Church made its way in Southern Kaffraria up to the time of Dr. Callaway's consecration. In the north, as we have seen, nothing had been done until the planting in 1871 of the mission at

Clydesdale, the fourth of a row of Christian villages spreading at enormous intervals over this great tract of land. The three southern stations, of which the northernmost—S. Augustine's—is as nearly as possible in the middle of the country, had hitherto been under the charge of Grahamstown ; while Clydesdale came naturally under that of Natal—or, as it was called after Bishop Macrorie's consecration, Maritzburg.

In December 1871, the bishops of the Church in South Africa sent the following address to the Primus and bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church :—

". . . Having heard that it has been the wish and purpose of the Scotch Episcopal Church to found a mission to the heathen within, or adjacent to, the territories of the British Empire, which shall go forth as a distinct mission from that Church, . . . we venture to invite the attention of the bishops of that Church to the great field of Southern Africa, where there is a province of heathendom partly within and partly adjoining the borders of British territory, which, whether as regards population or extent of soil, exceeds that of any other possession of the British crown, India alone excepted.

" Within this wide field there lies . . . a tract of country inhabited by different Kaffir tribes, who are for the most part wearied out either by continued warfare among themselves or . . . by a quarter of a century of ineffectual struggle against British rule ; and in spite of the disturbing elements still existing among them . . . their feelings in general have so altered as regards English supremacy and the benefit of a strong civilised government in their neighbour-

hood . . . that they gladly welcome the introduction of European influences, whether through the medium of the commissioner, the trader, or the missionary. A few scattered mission stations, principally of the Wesleyan body, have kept up for some thirty or forty years a little light shining in a dark place. The Scotch Presbyterian Church has also entered vigorously on the field of action. A line of missions has been thus established towards the coast between the older colony and Natal, while the upper country still remains an almost uncultivated field—or, to speak more hopefully, . . . a field whitening to the harvest.

"Our English Church missions across the Kei—now four in number—together with several outstations held by native teachers, need a closer superintendence than they can now receive; and the invitations given us to extend our missions eastward from these . . . [and bring them] into connexion with the station newly planted in Adam Kok's territory from the Natal diocese, seem to indicate the propriety of trying to establish now what was designed and almost carried into execution some years ago—viz., a bishopric for Independent Kaffraria. The attempt. . . was only abandoned for want of the necessary funds to carry it forward.

"Should the Episcopal Church of Scotland consent to take up the work . . . it would . . . complete the as yet broken chain of the Church's missions from the extreme west of Cape Colony to Natal and the regions beyond, stretching up nearly to the Zambesi River."

The Scottish Episcopal Church accordingly invited the co-operation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and an agreement was made that a Board of Missions should be established in Scotland, and that a bishop and staff of helpers should be provided for Kaffraria. The S.P.G. was to place its missionaries under the Bishop's jurisdiction, and relinquish part of the grant it had hitherto been receiving from the Scottish Church. This plan being decided on, Dr. Callaway was invited by the Bishop of Edinburgh representing Scotland and by Mr. Bullock on behalf of the S.P.G., to become "missionary bishop for Kaffraria." The offer was accepted, and, reluctant as he was to lay aside the work which had occupied him for so many years, he began at once with characteristic vigour to lay his plans for future labour. "Already," he said to Mr. Bullock in his letter of acceptance (May 5th, 1873), "the future work is spread out before my mind like a map, and I count on your continued help and sympathy to enable me to win to Christ this new country of heathendom. I purpose to travel westward through Kaffraria by way of our Church mission, that I may be somewhat acquainted with their condition and needs."

The result of these investigations was a paper published by Dr. Callaway in the autumn of 1873, telling how the diocese is "somewhat larger than the whole of Scotland," and containing 600,000 inhabitants of various tribes, each tribe under the petty sovereignty of its own chief, who is king, commander, lawgiver. It has, he says, a coast line of 250 miles, and its

western boundary is the range of the Drakensberg, running parallel to the coast. The population may be divided roughly into five or six tribes (Pondos, Gcalekas, Fingoes, Griquas, Hottentots, are the most important), which again are subdivided almost infinitely; and as each tribe has its own dialect and its own customs, the prospect of success in uniting them into one spiritual brotherhood was not very encouraging.

Of the Griquas, "the most advanced" people of the country, Dr. Callaway says, "they are wanting in energy and enterprise," given to drunkenness, "disposed to lead indolent and improvident lives." The Fingoes are more promising, beginning to be sensible of the advantage of education, and improving under the wise management of Captain Blyth; but "they are just now in a critical stage of their existence, and the next few years must determine whether they will recede into barbarism or continue to progress." The Pondos have been somewhat raised by intercourse with traders, missionaries, etc.; "but speaking generally they are ignorant and superstitious, and present to the missionary an almost utterly uncultivated soil for his labours." And in addition to these particular drawbacks, "there is constant petty warfare going on among the various tribes, undertaken rather for the sake of cattle-stealing than anything else; on this account one does not see many huts in passing through the country . . . the people generally preferring to build in concealed places rather than on mountain tops or hillsides." On the other hand, the

country itself possessed advantages by means of which Dr. Callaway saw that the people might be educated if they could be gained to the side of the white men and civilisation; it was a broken fertile land, with great stretches of pasture intersected by large rivers, which might easily be rendered navigable to a great distance from their mouths, and which would open the way to copper mines already known to exist, but which hitherto no one had had skill or enterprise enough to work.

Altogether there were enough difficulties in his way to give zest to the work, for a man who like the doctor had spent most of his life in overcoming difficulties; and enough encouragements to make the prospect a hopeful one. Among the latter was the course which the Cape Government had already taken in the case of Independent Kaffraria, placing magistrates in various parts for the protection of the scattered white population, and promising every help that they could give to the spread of Christianity, which they looked on as a "necessary condition of progress." Dr. Callaway accordingly sent forth his appeal for help of all kinds, but more especially for that of willing, earnest workers —"young men who meant to devote their lives to the work." He had himself proved that in spite of all hardships such labour brings its own reward.

In May 1873 the Rev. T. B. Jenkinson arrived from England to settle at Spring Vale and prepare to take Dr. Callaway's place. Until he had mastered the language, the greater part of the work was carried on by Mr. Broadbent and the two native deacons, while

the English printer, Mr. Blair, with Mr. Wakefield, had charge of Highflats, whither the printing-office was now removed. It was a severe blow that just at this time the S.P.C.K. had been obliged to refuse a grant for which Dr. Callaway had applied, to enable him to carry out the whole work of printing. He felt that the refusal practically put an end to his literary work, and that this was one among the many tasks which his new office called upon him to relinquish; but for present needs the press would still be available, and he looked forward to removing it to headquarters as soon as a central station could be founded for the new diocese.

Further causes of uneasiness were the breaking-up of a Christian village near Highflats, when the land which had been Government property passed into private hands; and—which was perhaps still more dangerous—the restless unsettled state into which the country was thrown by the recent success in the working of the South African diamond-fields. Men who had fallen deeper and deeper into poverty during the late state of commercial and agricultural depression, now began to desert their families for the diggings; too often the homes were broken up and scattered; and for the most part the wanderers returned—if they did return—more wretched than when they started. But with all discouragements, there was the memory of what the land had been twenty years before, to compare with the visible proof of the blessing that had rested on his labours—and beyond all external prosperity there were sure signs

that Christianity was indeed, as he had hoped, leavening the surrounding mass of heathenism.

On Whitsunday, June 1st, 1873, the usual Spring Vale congregation was supplemented by a number of people from Highflats and other neighbouring villages, most of whom lodged for the night with the villagers in order to see the doctor start on his long journey. Bishop Macrorie, who had come to take a Confirmation on the previous Sunday, stayed to preach the sermon, and bid farewell to the bishop-elect.

One of the members of the newly-arrived mission-party was intensely touched by the devotion of the natives to their master and their grief at losing him. Numbers of presents were brought to him to be carried home to England as curiosities; and some of his own people, including the native deacons, had subscribed among them ten guineas with which they wished him to buy a watch in England, and which was accompanied by the following letter:—

"Sir, this is our letter, the letter of us the people of Spring Vale, which I, William, have written with my own hand. It has been written with the one heart of the people here at home, with a heart that remembers the great love we bear you. We remember your arrival in this country, and your stay with us in this village of Spring Vale. We remember with a joyful and thankful heart your kind treatment of us, and the various helps you have given us in our worldly affairs, but especially the work in which you were helped by the Lord, and for which you came out amongst us. We mean the matter of our salvation.

We greatly wish to gladden you whilst bidding you farewell by this little thing of ours, which is proportionate to our ability, to wit ten guineas, in order that you may remember us by means of it. This is the end, Sir; the letter of the Church of Spring Vale and the names of all the people."

There was an affectionate leave-taking of the men, women, and children, so many of whom had grown up around him, and with a final blessing, "The Lord be with you, my children," Dr. Callaway left them, accompanied in the early part of his journey by Mr. Button and the ever-faithful Umpengula, whom he now saw for the last time. In January 1874, after a short illness, which he would not allow to interfere with his work, Umpengula was called to his rest.

Dr. and Mrs. Callaway arrived in England in August, 1873, after an absence of nearly twenty years. For a long time, as we have seen, the doctor had regarded with longing the possibility of such a visit, and it may readily be imagined what glad meetings there were with old friends, and what regrets for the gaps which time had made in the circle—and how welcome was the intercourse, into which his position now brought him, with many of the foremost men in the world of thought. His sojourn in England was however rather a public than a personal matter. It was not perhaps altogether to his mind that he should be obliged to come forward as a public advocate of missions—the prospect of doing so had of late years somewhat counter-balanced his desire of "coming home"—but the opportunity was clearly not to be lost,

and the efforts made by English friends on behalf of his wide-spreading mission work made it a matter of duty. It may here be mentioned that during his stay of less than a year, over £3,000 were collected for the needs of the new diocese.

From London he travelled in October to Edinburgh to prepare for his consecration, preaching in the interval on behalf of his mission, and succeeding (according to the Bishop of Edinburgh) in interesting the people as few preachers had power to do.

On All Saints' Day, 1873, the consecration of Dr. Callaway as missionary bishop for Independent Kaffraria took place at S. Paul's Episcopal Church. The consecrating bishops were the Primus, Bishop of Moray and Ross, and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Brechin. Provost Cazenove preached the sermon from Numbers x. 35, 36. He spoke of the roll of saints, from Moses downwards, who had been at once the outcome and the leaders of their age—men chosen often from humble station, appointed to work by humble means, and through whose instrumentality the world had been growing—slowly indeed but surely—wiser, better, holier. None of such workers had ever had a more extensive field for labour than the man who was to-day being sent forth into the darkness of heathen Africa, fully equipped for the work by the strength with which God endowed him, and by the experience of many years of labour. Once again, as in the days of Moses, the ark was carried forward to conquer the enemies of God—darkness, ignorance, superstition, immorality—and once again, he said,

may it rest, and return to the many thousands of Israel when the warfare is accomplished.

During the greater part of his stay in England Dr. Callaway was the guest of friends in Croydon, where he found time, in the intervals of preaching and speaking, to draw up a statement of the prospects and needs of his new diocese, which formed the subject of three addresses that he delivered at Norwich. The busiest time did not come till the following summer, when every day seems to have been occupied in veritable "missionary journeys." At the end of May he was again at Edinburgh, and spoke at the Church Congress there on the work of the Church in South Africa, as contrasted with other agencies for the social and moral improvement of the natives. On June 2nd he received the honorary degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford, where also he took an active part in the plans then being formed for starting a Missionary Association, and promised a set of his own literary productions for the use of its library. Thence he travelled to Tynemouth, South Shields, Manchester (where he stayed with Dean Cowie), Hagley, Birmingham, and Coventry; attended the commemoration service at S. Augustine's Missionary Training College on S. Peter's Day; and returned to London in July to take farewell of his friends before setting out on his second voyage.

It is unfortunate that there remain very few reminiscences in his own handwriting of these busy months, full as they must have been of happiness and intellectual life. A few characteristic notes appear in letters

to his adopted daughter at Spring Vale. At Edinburgh "Dr. Brown, the author of *Rab and his Friends*, . . . seemed to know me perfectly well; he took me and turned me round and round in an extraordinary way to get a good look at me." . . . "The *dis*-organising Secretary called—he looks like a man who has had epilepsy and taken nitrate of silver."

"The Bishop of Manchester [Fraser] called on me soon after I came. He is a great strong man—such a head and such a voice, and such a determined look. I like him, but I should say, Very strong indeed! I wonder if he can bear the infirmities of the weak."

Nothing could be clearer than the plans which Bishop Callaway had set before himself, and which in the third of his Norwich addresses were laid before his hearers. The first requisite was a strong centre, "at which must be established, on a larger and more efficient scale, the several institutions feebly begun, and struggling amidst depression and want of support at Spring Vale."

There follows a *catalogue raisonnée* of the several institutions, each of which was or would be eventually the embodiment of one of his schemes for the native development. (1) A *Boys' Institution*, to be the "seed-bed of the Church." (2) A *Girls' Institution*, to train women to hold worthily the higher social position which Christianity was to establish for them. (3) The *Printing-press*, an instrument for the intellectual culture which, as he held, was the soil in which Christianity would attain its greatest

vigour. (4) A *College* for the training of natives for the ministry—in his eyes, as we have seen, a most important step in the social and spiritual progress of the community. (5) A *Cathedral or Mother-Church*, not elaborate and costly, but of simple beauty and dignity, to be a symbol of the faith which God had sent His servants to plant in the midst of the people. (6) A *Library*, to compensate in some measure to colonists for the loss of intellectual society which they incurred in leaving England. (7) His cherished *Hospital*. The words in which he appealed for help in this branch of his work may well be quoted here.

"Medical education acts on the mind in a manner peculiarly calculated to make an efficient missionary. I know it has been said that it tends to produce scepticism—that dealing, as the physician does, with natural facts, and trusting to bring about results by attention to surrounding circumstances, and obedience to natural laws, he may be tempted to overlook the great Author of Law. But there is no more necessary tendency in the study of medicine to produce such a result than in any other branch of science. Unsteady, one-sided minds may go wrong anywhere, even in the study of the most strictly religious subjects; and if it be true that 'the undevout astronomer is mad,' much more true is it that he is mad who can study the human body, in health and in disease, and can remain an undevout looker-on, or can irreverently refuse to believe in the Great Designer. And men of the highest order of mind have found it possible to pene-

trate to the very depths of medical science, and to add largely by their labours to medical knowledge, and at the same time to be devout worshippers of God, and to retain unsullied their faith in Christ. I shall never forget the effect produced by one who has since attained to the highest position in the profession—I mean Sir James Paget—when, as a comparatively young man, he broke through the ordinary cold routinism of the introductory lecture at S. Bartholomew's and told the assembled students, and men grown gray in their profession, what a high and holy calling that of the physician is. I believe no heart remained untouched as there thrilled from his eloquent lips the words of good old George Herbert:—

> "'Man is the world's High-priest: he doth present
> The sacrifice for all; while they below
> Unto the service mutter an assent
> Such as springs use that fall, and winds that blow.'

"The physician is only a little less the delegated minister of Christ than the divine. It may be truly said that the priest and the doctor were united in our Lord; the healing of bodies and the healing of spirits was His mission. He came to heal all the ills which sin—that is, deviation from all-wise laws—has introduced into the world; and whilst it is well that there should be a division of labour, yet the divine would more effectually do his work if he were acquainted with medicine, and the physician would more effectually do his if he regarded himself as a humble follower in the steps of the Great Physician, the Saviour and Friend of man. . . . The devout, intelligent

physician should be a walking, living example of the Christ.

"Then the physician is trained to seek truth as truth for truth's sake, without any strong *a priori* prejudices, or a too great disposition to listen to the mere dicta of other men, or a too great servility to the opinions of a dead antiquity. He is of necessity forced to live in the *now;* he is practical rather than theoretical, and values a theory not for its mere beauty and consistency, but for its practical benefit. . . .

"Then his system is elastic. He has learned to deal with disease, not as though it had one stereotyped form fully represented by a name, but as ever varying, with infinitely minute shades of difference, in relation to the constitution and previous history and surrounding circumstances of the patient. So he will be prepared to see in spiritual matters the same ever-varying character; he will regard sin as spiritual disease, and not expect to find it an invariable known condition, requiring an unvarying known system of treatment. No one is more likely to comprehend than the well-trained physician.

"Might not the medical profession yield me for Kaffraria *a man* of skill and learning as a physician and of deep religious sensibility—one who loves his God and his profession too well to seek for worldly gain or honour? . . .

"We want many men, men of firm faith, practical religion, and sound common-sense, who are willing to work without worldly reward,—men to whom the beautiful words of our Common Prayer are a truth

and reality—'We offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee,'—and whose ample reward shall be (for there is nothing to offer of worldly gain or honour) the result of God's blessing on their faithful labour, and the 'Well done!' of the Master in the end. 'The silver is the Lord's, and the gold is the Lord's'; so are the hearts of men, and He can turn them as He will. . . .

"Do you say it is a large scheme, and will require large funds, and much exertion extended over much time? It may be so; yet do not therefore turn back from the famishing multitudes crying to you for food. If you are faithful 'they need not depart.' It is the Lord's word. He made the five barley loaves and the two small fishes suffice to feed the multitude. He could have done without them as well as with them. So now He can do without us also, . . . but He would honour us by using us and our means. Still He says 'They need not depart. Give ye them to eat.'"

# CHAPTER XVI

Return to Africa—Parting gift to Spring Vale—English helpers—Journeying in the wilderness—Clydesdale Synod—Pondoland mission—First ordination—Removal to the Umtata.

BISHOP CALLAWAY left England on the 25th of August, 1874, accompanied by a small staff of new workers—three laymen, three lady-helpers, and one clergyman, the Rev. J. O. Oxland. They reached Natal on the 27th of September, and travelled direct to Spring Vale, where they were received with every demonstration of affectionate welcome. A triumphal arch had been set up, on which waved the English flag, and decorations lined the roadway.

"It was very affecting," wrote the bishop, "to be so welcomed. All who knew us gathered round us, shaking hands and looking with loving eyes into our faces, as though they could not look enough at their newly-restored friends. New faces, of those who had come to reside in the village since we left, came to greet us also; and the little children, out of whose memory we had passed, came up to us with affectionate confi-

dence, as though they knew us well and could trust in us."

One friend was missing, who would have been among the first to meet and welcome them—the Kaffir deacon, Umpengula. Mary, his widow, attached herself more closely than ever to the master who had been her husband's and her own best friend, and thenceforth became a faithful family servant—commending her boys into the bishop's care to be trained, if it might be, to follow in their father's steps.

During Dr. Callaway's absence in England the Bishop of Grahamstown had, on the 4th of June, ordained three more Kaffirs to the ministry, at S. Mark's, one of the southern Kaffrarian mission-stations. Thus Dr. Callaway had the satisfaction of seeing a further advance towards that native ministry, without which he believed the Church could not become indigenous to South Africa. But the best of new helpers could not fill the irreparable loss caused by the death of his old friend.

It was now necessary to make arrangements for the final leaving of Spring Vale, as soon as a suitable locality could be found for the planting of a home-station in the new country. It was a somewhat severe blow to Bishop Macrorie to find that the whole staff of mission workers, with many of the most intelligent of the native population, were to be removed from Spring Vale (which remained in his diocese) to Kaffraria; and Canon Jenkinson, Dr. Callaway's successor, who had the advantage of reaping the fruit of the doctor's labours, found this the one hindrance to

his progress. "The people have lost not only their father, but their physician and their landlord: no wonder then that many should follow him. . . . About one-third of the whole Christian population will leave —*i.e.* a quarter of the whole of the people living on the estate."[1]

BISHOP CALLAWAY *to the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*Spring Vale, October 30th*, 1874. . . . This station is very much as when we left it. . . . It is touching and even painful to see the love these poor people have for us, and how they long to come back under our care. Many will join us in our future sphere of labours. I shall not encourage any general emigration—that would take place not only of the Christians but of many of the surrounding heathen if I only said the word. But I do not think it desirable. I must take some as leaven for the new work; and others who have set their hearts on going, if refused would not stay here, but get unsettled and go to some other place."

Much of the land at Spring Vale was Church property, besides various buildings; and Dr. Callaway, who owned property to the value of £2,500 here and at Highflats, undertook to make over all except £500 (to be reserved for the re-erection of his printing office) as a gift to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, either for the endowment of the new diocese or for the present use of the Natal Church. His private property

[1] *Church Missions in Natal*, by T. B. Jenkinson.

had been considerably affected during his absence by a prevalent cattle disease, which had caused him a loss of £200; but the liberality of the Scottish Board of Missions in providing a salary and his travelling expenses justified him, as he considered, in making this sacrifice.

Among the many friends who had responded to his urgent appeals for help was Mrs. Venables, who had collected £1,000 towards "Dr. Callaway's Mission." This was ready to be handed over to him just at the time that he was appointed to the bishopric; and it was, not perhaps unnaturally, contended by others interested in the said mission that the money ought to be kept for Spring Vale, for which it was no doubt originally intended. It was resolved that the question should be referred to the various contributors, who voted that it had been given primarily to Dr. Callaway for his own work, and that he was entitled to dispose of it as he would. Needless to say that it was most useful for the starting of operations in Kaffraria.

There was another gift which had given him particular pleasure, namely a travelling waggon purchased with "1,600 half-crowns" given by English friends, most of whom were unknown to him. He had begged that the prayers of the givers might be added to their gifts—"it will be such a comfort to me," he said, "when riding about among savage wilds and people, to think that I am borne along by the prayers and gifts of 1,600 Christian people." By its means he was able in November to visit the outlying parts of his old district, Highflats and Clydesdale; and he

held his first Confirmation of about forty candidates at the latter place on November 8th. "It seemed a blessed sign of the unity of the Church—made up of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues—to have to pronounce the words over them in English, Dutch, and Zulu."

Clydesdale was now being laid out in streets, and looking altogether prosperous and well-cared-for—a bright spot which might well encourage the bishop to hope for the future of his wide-spreading heathen diocese. After the Confirmation he returned for a few days to Spring Vale, to say the final farewells before setting off for the new home. In spite of the love that his people had for him there seems to have been little or no expression of sorrow at the parting; they appeared to realise the responsibility that he was taking upon himself, and to rejoice that others were to be taught to know and love God as they had been taught themselves. And for the bishop, the sight of the little flock he was leaving was of itself a token that there was nothing to fear in the coming years.

*To the* REV. JOHN HAYLEY.

"*Kaffraria, December 8th*, 1874. Here I am at a mission-station of the Wesleyans in the wilderness of Kaffraria. . . . After a long-continued drought the wet season has set in in earnest, and I have been imprisoned here since Friday last. . . . Upon the whole it appears desirable that our centre station should be in Pondoland [south of Clydesdale, between

Griqualand and the coast], and it was important to get the site determined without delay, and to be introduced by Mr. Strachan [the magistrate] to the Pondo chief. . . . From Kokstad, the Griquas' chief town, I went on with Mr. Strachan to the Kxaziba chief Ujojo, accompanied by Kok and a large body of Griquas. In all we were about forty, all on horseback. ('Our cavalcade was rather grotesque,' he says elsewhere, 'with its great variety of costumes, horses, and their accoutrements.') Ujojo and his people left us out in the rain, and when we had huts allotted to us they did not give us anything to eat; we had to wait in patient hunger, wet and weary, . . . and to work for ourselves till late at night. . . . No bed for the night, not even a mat, . . . so I had to sleep on my railway wrapper, with a block of wood for my pillow, as soft doubtless as Jacob's stone at Bethel.

"The Kxazibas are a great tribe of mountaineers, in constant war with the more powerful Pondo tribe. Kok and Mr. Strachan came to endeavour to establish peace. . . . On Monday they had a long talk which ended satisfactorily, and they are to send certain cattle to the Pondo chief in token of submission and amity. When the talk was over Ujojo sent for me, and begged me to give him a missionary *at once*. They find a missionary a protection and help in every way, and no doubt it was self-interest. . . . I promised to do what I could, and hope before long to send some one to them once a week. How inadequate! but what can I do? . . .

"The following day we went through a beautiful

gorge, some miles long, to the top of a very high mountain marking the boundary-line between Griqualand and Pondoland. It was a wonderful sight from the top—far, far away, sixty or more miles, pile upon pile of mountains stretched out before us." Services were held in a hut here, and the natives professed their desire "to join the Church in a body." Turning northwards again, the bishop and his people fell in with other clergy making their way to Clydesdale to attend a conference which Dr. Callaway had called, and they travelled thither together.

The synod was attended by only nine members besides the bishop, who were nevertheless the whole staff of workers (exclusively Church-workers, that is) for Kaffraria, excepting only the four native deacons. And of these nine, four were young laymen under training for Holy Orders. Thirty thousand square miles of territory to be worked by nine clergymen!

The bishop, in his opening address, urged the need of active co-operation between clergy and laity as the most effectual means of supplying the want until a larger staff could be obtained. "I believe," he said, "the future vigour of the Church will depend to a great degree on the wisdom with which she succeeds in employing the willingly offered services of faithful laymen. . . . This appears to me to lie at the very foundation of all healthy Church-work. It is our duty as clergy . . . to endeavour to utilise every capacity for work which we may find in those among whom we are labouring; and not to regard the laymen as mere unspiritual men who have no other function

than that of being money-winners for the spirituality, but as having been redeemed to be priests unto God, and so having a spiritual work to do always and everywhere in their daily life, in proportion to their several capacities and the opportunities which God places within their reach."

He recommended that the clergy should be on the watch to find out boys and young men, especially among the colonists' families, who might suitably be trained as missionaries—believing that those who had grown up among the natives would be the most effective in influencing them.

Meanwhile, all energies must be devoted to strengthening the already-existing centres, and to establishing as far as possible a communication between the workers ; they must have the sense of fellowship and mutual support to compensate in some degree for the actual separation from their brethren.

It was resolved that henceforth the diocese should be known as "S. John's" (taking its name from the central river of S. John's or Umzimvubu), and that the bishop should take the name of S. John's instead of his surname. The country was now no longer "Independent" Kaffraria, but had been taken wholly under British protection.

Early in 1875 Bishop Callaway, with his adopted daughter and a small retinue of natives, made a second excursion into Pondoland. Passing through a forest they came out into a beautiful fertile country, plentifully supplied with water and all other necessaries of existence, and here the bishop fixed on a spot which

would, as he then thought, be in every way suitable for the new township. Umkqikela, the Pondo chief, granted the requisite site, and became still more gracious when Dr. Callaway, finding him in need of his medical skill, doctored him and any of the people who came to be prescribed for. As usual they were disposed to ascribe the cures to some supernatural power; and one who had had his tooth extracted brought a gun with a broken lock and requested that the doctor would also operate on that. On Sundays he assembled them according to his custom for religious instruction.

"There was a very large assembly outside the tent. As I had spoken last Sunday of the existence of a God, to-day I spoke to them of what God is to man, and the mode of approaching Him. Some years since I adopted the word *Usimakade* for God, as the equivalent to the Eternal. It was at once and unhesitatingly taken up by the natives of Natal as the most proper possible word for God. . . . I thought this would be a good opportunity for ascertaining the range of its intelligibility, and said, 'You have heard me use a word which is probably new to you, Usimakade. Whom do you understand by the name?' They answered at once, 'God.' I consider the value of this word great; it takes them away from the anthropomorphism of ancestor-worship, and gives them an idea of God's being with which ancestor-worship is incompatible, or only compatible in a very subsidiary sense."

*To the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*My tent in the wilderness, February 22nd,* 1875. . . . I am here in the wilderness, having pitched my tent here for ten days, detained by a panic of cattle disease which prevents my getting my oxen. Such is the slowness of progress in Pondoland. Thanks to the kind friends who contributed to provide me with mules and waggon, I could come across the line over which oxen must not pass. . . . The S. John's [River], though not locally the centre, must be the actual centre of Kaffraria in any further development of the country, and will be the most readily accessible. . . .

"There is a great work for the Church to do here. The welcome we have received from chiefs and people and from the white men is remarkable. *Do help us to enter this door while it is open.* . . . I intend to go to S. Mark's the end of March, and shall be absent about three months. I want to get everything in order and started there before I leave."

In April the mission-party with their numerous following left Spring Vale finally for Pondoland, and pitched their tents in the place they had selected on S. John's River which they at this time believed would be their permanent dwelling-place. They set to work, as a little band of them had done seventeen years before, to raise a new village from which Christianity might spread into the surrounding heathen country. "The people here," the bishop wrote, "are very friendly. They gather around us in large numbers

bringing maize, pumpkins, and gooseberries for sale. They are already engaged in cutting poles, wattles, and grass for our building."

"*Trinity Sunday* [1875]. As I was prevented from going to the south of the diocese, and it was desirable on several accounts that Mr. Oxland and Mr. Broadbent should be ordained, I held my first ordination to-day. We made our large tent as churchlike as possible; . . . it seemed suitable to have the first ordination held in this tabernacle in the wilderness for such a tabernacle-diocese as Kaffraria. . . . Mr. Key of S. Augustine's and Mr. Button of Clydesdale assisted."

Having settled his party and set the work going under the newly-ordained clergy, Bishop Callaway visited the south of his diocese, holding ten or twelve Confirmations at various stations as he passed.

It was encouraging to find that the natives on all sides were ready to set up churches if they could be provided with teachers; already work which might have been done by the Church had fallen to the share of dissenters, into whose hands the Kaffirs had put themselves, providing the money to pay their missionaries. The bishop, while determining that the Church should no longer be behindhand in taking up her share, was always ready to rejoice over the good that had been done by others. "We must," he had said at the Clydesdale Synod, "allow the principle that wherever we see the fruits of the Spirit we must refer them to the work of the Spirit, and acknowledge, not theoretically only but practically,

that from Him, and from Him alone, proceed 'all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works.' On this principle we shall be able to rejoice at any good work done, though not done by ourselves, and outside our own Church, and it may be even in ways we do not think desirable. . . . Let us remember that the masses of the people will not, because they cannot, judge by hard questions relating to Church government and Christian theology, but by holy lives and good works."

*To* MISS BUTTON.

"*All Saints'*, *August 28th*, 1875. . . . I enjoy the services here more than at the beginning, now that I am more acquainted with the language and can speak to the people not only in a language 'understanded' of them but understanded of myself. . . The difficulty is merely in new words. I am able to make important and acceptable corrections both to natives and missionaries in their translations. We have remodelled the Doxology and the Blessing, made sundry emendations in the Creed and in the Confirmation-service, much to the comfort of myself and the delight of the missionaries. . . . [This] is the best ordered station in Kaffraria, and there appears to be such reality in the work—it has been gathered entirely from the surrounding heathen.

"I must, D.V., on my next visitation, which must be much more in detail, have you with me. It would do your loving heart good to see how much is being done

by native agency. And if only we could get men capable of going about among the tribes, the Christianisation of Kaffraria is but a question of time."

At one village another need of this very needy diocese presented itself to the bishop's active mind. In visiting the school he saw a little white girl, the daughter of one of the missionaries, among (and not by any means at the head of) a class of native children being instructed by a native teacher. It occurred to him that the want of a proper means of education for their children must form a serious bar in the way of many men who would be willing to sacrifice other advantages to give themselves up to mission work. He suggested that all who were interested in the question should unite to find some means to establish in Umtata, the village which was to become the capital of Kaffraria, a school for boys and girls, where children might be efficiently educated without the anxiety and expense which was entailed in sending them to England. In this, as in so much else, he had to be content to appeal to others to do the work for which his own hands were already too full.

*To the* REV. H. SWABEY (Secretary S.P.C.K.).

"*S. John's Mission, September 29th*, 1875. . . I have been travelling during the last fourteen weeks through the diocese from the Umzimkulu to the Kei. . . I have now visited almost every place where any Church work is going on, . . . and if before the visit I felt the vastness of the work, I feel it much more now. During

my visit I confirmed 421, mostly native adults, and administered to a large number of communicants, sometimes more than a hundred at a time. There has been a great work done, but after all it is very small compared with what remains to be done, and there are large tracts of territory as yet not even visited by the Church, and where the onward movement of the people is loudly demanding the guidance of Christian pastors.

"It appears to me that there is an unusual desire amongst the people to have our Church settled amongst them. . . . On my visit to Kokstad, Griqualand East, the largest town in Kaffraria, I had a paper presented to me signed by thirty persons, asking me to begin Church work among them. Two white men had willingly surrendered to the Government a piece of land in the best situation in the town for the purpose of building a church and schoolroom."

The place in which the mission-party had settled on the S. John's river is described as "a beautiful but very broken country, on the edge of a plain between two valleys, well wooded and well watered"; the bishop's house, "a very long building consisting of nine or ten rooms, with a verandah all round it which is closed in at the corners so as to form four additional rooms. It is built of wattle and daub, with a corrugated iron roof. . . . About a mile distant is the cottage of Mr. Wakefield, the bishop's secular superintendent, which has near it the dwellings of the natives who have come from Spring Vale."

Miss Button had lately married Mr. Oxland, and

the station was placed under their charge. The bishop had already begun to see that the Umtata river rather than the S. John's must be the site of the central station, and that eventually the "Pondo Mission," as it was called, must be given up exclusively to Mr. Oxland's care. In the meantime, he was glad to be able to leave him all responsibility while he himself was absent on his missionary journeys. During the early part of 1876, a visit to the Capetown Synod took him away for three months. There was the journey south-west to the coast, which took just three weeks, and involved the crossing of three large rivers (Umtata, Bashee, and Great Kei); and then the sea-voyage of six days from East London to Algoa Bay.

[Diary] "*January* 31*st.* At the synod of bishops it was concluded that I am to go to Zululand during the coming winter, and, with the Bishop of Bloemfontein, am to afford that diocese any episcopal services it may require during the vacancy of the see.

"*February 8th.* I called on Mrs. Bleek, the widow of Dr. Bleek. There was a painful interest in visiting the widow and family of my old friend, and seeing what a large amount of work he had done, and how much of his labour must be thrown away unless means are forthcoming for the publication of his MSS. It is probably the only collection of Bushman folk-lore existent."

The Capetown Synod closed on the 16th of February. Dr. Callaway stayed till the 26th, when he travelled back as far as Grahamstown with the

Bishop of Bloemfontein, and thence by rough roads, or apparently no roads at all, across country to All Saints'.

*Diary*, "*March 2nd.* . . . We reached the Koonap about 5 P.M. There is no bridge over this river, which is not broad, but deep and dangerous. There is a rope stretched from side to side, to which is suspended a box which runs on the top by wheels. The passenger and luggage are placed in this box, and men draw it across. We spent the night at a little wayside inn.

"*March 3rd.* . . . We crossed the Koonap Hill, high and steep. From it to the Kat River the roads were covered with mud from nine to fifteen inches or more thick, and in some places there were deep mud-holes into which the wheels might sink to the naves or even deeper. The road is cut out of the side of the hill, leaving a precipitous descent to the river. . . .

"We found the river full and impassable. The waggon was not provisioned; all we had was a few biscuits and a little wine. . . . The men were so tired that I would not trouble them to take the things out of the waggon to make my bed, and I slept without undressing on the seat. . . .

"*March 22nd.* . . . [S. John's River] The *Sea Gull* has not paid a visit to S. John's since I left in December, so there is a famine, and all the white people are out of the most common articles of food."

The difficulties attending the settlement in Pondoland seem to have been hardly less considerable than those of the early Spring Vale days. "It is quite impossible," the bishop wrote, "for any one who is not

acquainted with the difficulties of working in a country like this, where everything is unsettled, where travel is extremely difficult, labour scarce and inefficient, and where nothing is reliable, to comprehend the extreme harass and disappointment to which we have been exposed during the past year. For myself, I may say, I never passed a year so full of toils of various kinds, and anxieties, as since my return from England. Had I not been possessed of private means I could not have met absolutely necessary expenditure."

A certain amount of distrust with which the Pondos regarded the advent of the new little colony into their midst, added not a little to the anxiety. All sorts of extraordinary ideas arose among them and reached the bishop's ears—that he had been commissioned by Government to introduce soldiers who would drive them out of the country, and that the long low house, built for the bishop's family ("and quite insufficient for our accommodation") was intended for barracks; while still wilder theories got afloat among the children that these were beings who had risen out of the sea and were gifted with supernatural powers.

Encouraged to ask questions on any subject in which they were in doubt, one bright Pondo promptly demanded whether it were not the duty of the missionaries to give the natives all they asked for.

The absence of anything like a fixed code of law made things doubly hard; it was so difficult to punish crime that the administration of justice had fallen into a deplorably lax state, and with it of course the moral condition of the people. "But the more able I am to

enter into intimate conversation with the natives, the more I have their confidence, and they become entirely open with me. I am persuaded that the best secrets of the native character and of the native language have yet to be made out; and that hidden in the recesses of their minds are many truths, many intimations of a higher and better past, of which the vast generality of white men have not a suspicion." [1]

By the time it was finally decided to remove the central station from S. John's to the Umtata river, the bishop and his people were equally regretful at having to part. He had the satisfaction of seeing the tent in which they had hitherto worshipped replaced by a little church before he left. One of his clergy, Mr. Hamilton, writing to England on the Wednesday in Easter week, 1876, describes graphically the experiences they had gone through during the past winter.

"Try to imagine a hot wind making the air like a furnace, or a cold wind piercing through every cranny, or a six out of seven days' downpour, and think what in either case a Matins or Evensong would be, with nothing but canvas over your head and mother-earth for a carpet, and then you will give us a warm sympathy in our joy at meeting on Easter Eve for our first service in our first church in Pondoland. A quaint little plank-building it is, 30 feet by 20, iron-roofed, boarded, with square lights. We never, even amongst ourselves, say more than 'school-chapel' as we look at it, but for all that our hearts were very

[1] Letter to the Secretary of the S.P.G., June 3, 1876.

full as we knelt to confess how little we deserved even such a home, and to tell our Master how well we knew that naught but His own dear presence could make it worthy of His looking upon. Very few we were that night—just our dear bishop and the priest in charge, a native deacon, a catechist, two or three lady-workers, two white workmen, and the boys and girls of the schools. Still it was Easter Eve, and we were once more in church, and huts and tents could be forgotten. . . . The Pondos are beginning to attend the services, the bishop giving them separate teaching, in a catechetical form, after his sermon to the already Christian natives who have followed him from Spring Vale. . . . We have much to be very thankful for, as we see the boys' school fairly starting, and the girls, at any rate, getting into order, so as to make their start more easy when the necessary arrangements can be completed.

"The Bishop intends starting for his Zululand journey about the middle of May, taking me with him; and on our return we trust he will be able to move on at once to his proposed central station on the Umtata, there to set on foot, as God shall give him strength and means, the various works he has so much at heart."

In June a cottage was actually purchased at a universally-approved site on the Umtata river, and arrangements were made for the transporting thither from D'Urban of an iron church. The Cape Government promised help as soon as a nucleus of new buildings should be erected.

BISHOP CALLAWAY *to the* REV. J. B. HAYLEY.

"*May*, 1876. . . . I have no doubt had much to do and bear, and [been] rather overweighted with responsibilities, but I have not been depressed except bodily . . . . I have been very much with the dear Master, who has been very close to me, upholding me and comforting, and enabling me to take a cheerful view of things. Indeed I never remember to have had the love of God more richly shed abroad in my heart then since my return to Kaffraria. I have an extremely nice set of clergy. . . .

"The work of the diocese is very different in many respects from what I expected, and much more extensive and arduous. When I told you in England of the 600,000 spread over a country as large as Scotland, it seemed a sufficiently large work to contemplate. But it was an easier thing to put such a statement on paper than to work practically at it.

"I certainly never had such hard work in my life. I have brought sixteen new workers into the diocese, and opened three new centres of work. . . . and yet all this appears but as a drop in the ocean of heathendom in which we are placed. It is scarcely perceptible in fact, and utterly inadequate to meet our necessities. . . .

"There are some men from the dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown who, with the consent of the bishops—who with a true sympathising catholic spirit are willing to give them up—would join us in the work, and whose experience would be invaluable. . . . Six

priests and their incomes! By them we should become self-contained, and with God's good blessing should be able to prepare natives and others for Holy Orders and for useful positions of social life, such as would most effectually insure not only the *founding* of the Church in Kaffraria, but its permanency. . . .

"You cannot conceive what a comfort [the mule-waggon] has been to me. . . . Had I not procured it, I could not possibly have got through last year's work. . . . I often think of the many unknown ones by whose alms I was aided, and by whose prayers I trust I am still borne along through many a difficulty and danger. Ask all my friends not to forget my way of thanking after the native fashion—'and to-morrow also!' . . . ."

The new stations of work above-mentioned were Ensikeni, an offshoot from Clydesdale, placed in Mr. Broadbent's care; and two out-stations formed later among the Sutos in the same neighbourhood. The thoroughness of Mr. Button's splendid work at Clydesdale had no doubt helped to kindle an enthusiasm among the friends who came forward to enable this new work to be undertaken.

# CHAPTER XVII

Site for Umtata determined on—Visit to Griqualand—Paul Bonsa—Difficulties and disheartenment—Umtata Synod—Mission-work spreading in the diocese—Disturbances among the natives—War breaks out—Fortification of Umtata—Visitation to north of the diocese—War at Kokstad—Its results—How Dr. Callaway prepared the way for the Training College—Disaster followed by renewal of energy.

EARLY in June, 1876, Bishop Callaway travelled northwards in his mule-waggon, and after a brief but happy stay at Highflats and Spring Vale, went on to Maritzburg, where he formally made over his property in the two villages to the Church. It had attained, as we have already seen, to a value of little less than £2000, and had been profitable in more than money value, for it had served as a means of educating the natives in all kinds of work, agricultural and industrial. The labour bestowed upon it made it a valuable gift to offer to the Church; and Mr. Jenkinson, who accompanied the bishop to Maritzburg, said that he had "never seen him so happy" as after this act of renunciation. Highflats (now under Mr. Broadbent's care) presented a most flourishing aspect; and it was noticed that (among other lately-effected improvements) the school-children were *not* now obliged

to leave their clothes behind them when school-hours and church services were ended. It had been necessary to lay such restrictions upon them in old days, as otherwise there would not have been garments enough to go round.

After five weeks' absence the bishop returned to S. John's River, only to set out again almost immediately on a two months' journey. This time the long-looked-for site for the new township was finally fixed upon. A small party of young colonists joined themselves to the bishop's little cavalcade, "as much interested in the question as if it personally concerned themselves," and together they visited several suggested localities, deciding eventually on a corner of land formed by the meeting of the Umtata River with its tributary the Ikcikcihha. The Umtata river could be crossed close by at "The Enemy's Ford" as the natives called it; a hill rose behind them cutting off the cold winds; and in front lay a magnificent range of forest-clad mountains. The Cape Government not only consented, but directed, that the magistrate should reside at Umta a, the place chosen, as soon as it became habitable. The magistrate, Major Boyes, was himself a Churchman, and his presence in their midst augured well for the Church's prosperity.

*To* MRS. STONE.

"*The Mule Waggon, Umtata, July* 15, 1876. . . Such roads—such delays—such difficulties—and such expenses you can scarcely conceive. I love our morn-

ing and evening services in our tents—it is solitary, yet not so solitary, it may be, as mountains appear to bodily eyes. Often when we out-camp for the night the natives gather round us. . . . He is an unknown God to them; and it is not easy to introduce to them in their present rudimentary form of belief the great mysteries of Christian truth.

"I am continually struck, in going among these people, with the mischievous character of the instruction which has been practically conveyed to them either by teaching them a truth partially, or one truth apart from another truth. Here is a man who thinks there is something he must wait for—a feeling, an impression—before he can believe in God; and so he either justifies his unbelief, or is sad in not having that without which he thinks he cannot believe."

In August he visited Griqualand, where much progress had been made since his first visit ten years ago; but, owing partly to the death of the chief Adam Kok, the church at Kokstad was not yet completed, and there was no missionary strong enough to work the mission up to the desired pitch. Clydesdale was still growing and prospering under Mr. Button's care.

The Griquas manifested much affection for the Church to which they were attaching themselves, but needless to say there was much error to be fought against, much evil to be rooted out. "They often have more faith in Satan's power for evil than in God's power for good, and speak of Satan as the 'Bridegroom,'" the bishop writes; and he responded

to them—"He has no claim upon us in that relation, for he has paid no *ukulobola*. He ran away with us from our Father's house against His will. The true, lawful Bridegroom is Christ, who came to rescue His Bride the Church from the power of Satan, and take her back to the true Home."

This journey brought him into closer contact than before with the Sutos, a tribe of Zulus speaking a dialect different from that of the surrounding people, and living in a more civilised state than their neighbours. "The chief's main house had two rooms, a pitched roof, a door of a proper height, and a fence of reeds round the front." The Bishop was accommodated for the night in one of their huts, with the floor for a bed and the adjacent river for a washing-place.

"*August* 12. [The chief] Umkheli's son, Antu, was here [at Emzihlanga] early, having walked twenty miles. I at once had him in and talked with him, and then got my first lesson in Zulu. He is a most clever teacher, and after the first preliminary difficulty he fell into my mode of seeking information; and the result was that I have no doubt with a few more such lessons I shall be able to make myself understood in Suto almost as readily as in Bakca or any other dialect. . . . I see my way distinctly into the structure of the language, and it throws, both verbally and grammatically, much light on the Zulu and its allied dialects. . . . Here as elsewhere polygamy is the great hindrance to civilisation."

A careful investigation, during this journey, of the religion of the different Suto and Gqika tribes, supplied

Bishop Callaway with material for a lecture which he delivered at Kokstad in the following December, and afterwards had printed in pamphlet form under the title of "Religious Sentiment among the Tribes of South Africa." His object was to prove the universality of the religious instinct in all grades of civilisation; making the minds of even the lowest savages a soil in which Christianity naturally takes root and flourishes.

*To a Friend in Edinburgh.*

"*Kokstad, January* 18*th*, 1877. . . . [The people here] are yearning to be taken in hand by the Church. They see that, though it is not more than five years since the Church, against much opposition, gained a footing in Griqualand, she has already four main centres of work—Clydesdale, Kokstad, Ensikeni, and S. John's. . . . It was this energy displayed by the Church missionaries (which had stirred into activity the Dissenters too) which so struck the late Captain Kok[1] . . . Had he lived we should, I think, have had very great help from him, and it is quite probable that he and his large family would have come into the Church.

"I have now with me a Natal native, Paul Bonsa, a man of remarkable character and history. He wishes to be a missionary. I teach him, and get any corrections I can for a new edition of the Prayer

[1] He was himself converted, says the editor of the *Mission Chronicle*, by the Wesleyans.

Book. . . . You would be delighted to see the entire-heartedness which he throws into the work, and how perceptibly delighted he is with the more exact and definite teaching of the Church than that to which he has been accustomed. I believe I could soon have a great many such gather round me if I could have the training college. [Elsewhere in the same letter he says that the S.P.C.K. has now granted £1,200 for the building of the college and £1,000 for endowment; but that this sum must be largely supplemented from other quarters before any building of proper accommodation can be taken in hand.]

". . . I have been obliged to stop the printing-press. It is a great misfortune; but I trust that brighter times will come, and that I shall be able to recommence some day at the Umtata, and go on with all the work which is ready for the press. . . . There is so much of my collection unprinted, and so little time left for me to attend to it; and if I go away before it is finished, no one is likely to take it up afterwards; so that I long to be able to do something. There is work which, had I two fellow-helpers to copy and arrange under my direction, would take many years to complete. . . .

"A Griqua living near Usidoi came to me yesterday, asking me to establish a school, and promising to give timber, &c., for the schoolroom. This is a healthy thing, and they are much more likely to be stable if they have themselves laboured, or given to the work. . . . The principle of helping the self-helpers or helping people to help themselves must be carried

out here. It is more difficult than at home; but the people will never be reliable as long as they are pauperised by indiscriminate giving."

The bishop did not return permanently to S. John's River station. Most of the early part of 1877 was spent at Kokstad, where the need of a resident clergyman was greatest, and where he was alternately encouraged and harassed by applications from the people around for help and teaching.

Gifts towards the church, schools, &c., for the new central station were sent, on their arrival from England, to the Umtata, to be in readiness when the mission-party should arrive there; and in April the Bishop travelled thither to select the position of his new house and to direct its building.

*To* MRS. CALLAWAY.

"*Umtata, April 12th*, 1877. . . . I did not get away from S. John's till Tuesday. We left at 6.20 A.M. and the little horses behaved admirably. . . . About 4 P.M. I sent on the gig to Old Bunting, and went across to Mr. Berry's with Mr. White. We had a most kind entertainment, and I was fresh and lively. Mr. White had been reading a book by a man named Hine, in which he attempts to prove that the English are the ten tribes—the lost tribes of Israel; and to prove this he brings forward forty-seven identifications not one of which is an identification at all, but a far-fetched stupidity by which one could prove anything. Orton might much more satisfactorily be proved to be

Tichborne. . . . We left Old Bunting at 9 A.M., and arrived in about four and a half hours. . . . It is very hot here. The iron church is getting on rapidly. . . . The English builder has made a great many mistakes —but we shall breast the difficulties. The people met a few days since and raised £40 to enclose the grave-yard."

At no time of his life, except in the days now long past, when his mind was divided between Quakerism and the Church of England, does Dr. Callaway seem to have been weighed down, as he was during this year 1877, with the cares and burdens that were laid upon him. The field of work was too great, it now seemed to him, to be efficiently cultivated with the instruments at his disposal ; and meanwhile personal poverty was weighing upon him, and he felt himself less able to struggle against it now, worn as he was by years of work. The voluntary renunciation of his property—the depreciation of money—the expense necessary for getting any good work done in this wilderness—the distances to be traversed before his large "family" could be settled in their new dwelling-place—all this added to the burden which the needs of the diocese already rendered heavy enough. He speaks of " needs everywhere which we are unable to supply ; opportunity after opportunity slipping away from us, whilst Dissenters are occupying the ground which we ought to have occupied." " I am incurring great responsibilities; but I do it in the firm persuasion that it is right, and that the liberality of Churchmen in Scotland and England will justify the faith I put in

them. The fact is, I *must* work; I cannot allow opportunities for securing workmen for needed works everywhere, to pass by without availing myself of them. . . . I am doing all I can to hasten on the work at this place, that we may have as soon as possible our theological college, and our boys' and girls' schools of several grades. . . . Our whole future as a vigorous spiritual power in Kaffraria depends on the rapidity with which we can begin these institutions, and the efficiency with which they are conducted."

When, in the June of this year, the mission-party arrived at the Umtata after a slow and weary journey, the cottage which Mrs. Callaway was to have occupied was no farther advanced than its foundations, and she had to stay two miles away from the village. The bishop, writing on August 15th to the Rev. J. Cotterill, describes the native workmen as a severe trial to Englishmen's patience. "They demand high wages, are poor workers; with one exception, they can do nothing without direction, often absent themselves from work for a week and more at a time. . . . [The high rate of wages] arises from no want of labourers for the work, for there is abundance of men doing nothing, but from the unwillingness of men to work. It is quite clear to me that such a social condition is an enormous, incalculable daily evil. None seem to have any notion of honesty in labour, or what 'fair wages for a fair day's work' means. . . . At present, things are sadly out of joint. I feel more and more convinced that the more we give away, either in gifts or labour, the worse for the people themselves. They

must be taught that it is their duty to give their time to those who labour for them in spiritual and intellectual things, just as they demand hire from them for any work they may be required to perform."

Despite all hindrances, however, the transit was at last safely accomplished, and the newcomers installed in the various houses temporarily fitted up for them. It had been decided that a Synod should be held, beginning on S. John Baptist's Day, and Mr. Wakefield, who had been getting things in order for their arrival, had been working nobly to finish the needful preparations.

*To the* REV. E. D. CREE.

"*Umtata, July*, 1877. . . . The Archdeacon and most of the others were accommodated by Mr. Wakefield or in the iron warehouse, and we were rather crammed. Mr. Wakefield had displayed great energy and industry, and we were thankful to have things sufficiently ready to hold our first service on the 24th. At the morning service I ordained a native, Masiza, the first native raised to the priesthood in South Africa; he spoke to me of his sense of weakness and unworthiness for such an office, and answered the questions in Church with a trembling voice. I ordained Mr. Mitchell. . . . and Mr. Coakes deacons —both Augustinians, and both promising to be active, useful men in the diocese. . . . It seemed a noble testimony to the unity of the Church, and to Christ the one Redeemer of total humanity, to ordain white

and black together, and to have coloured men ministering to a white congregation. . . .

"The iron church is now looking a handsome church-like building. . . . the Communion-table so suitable with the beautiful cloth, the work of many deft fingers; the old silver Communion-plate used at Spring Vale, the loving gift of a dear friend to me personally. . . . The beautiful carved pulpit was not put together, but was opened and placed in its proper situation; and on the opposite side was the organ given by Miss W. Thus you see we had almost everything we needed. We had not been able to complete the door, but had dark purple curtains to hang before the doorway, and used cocoa-nut matting as a carpet for the sanctuary.

"This Synod, held in the pro-Cathedral. . . . has given us a distinct standing. It was very satisfactory to hear the entire approbation expressed by the clergy and others at the site I have chosen, and their surprise at the amount of work done from October 1874 to March 1877. Indeed we are now not only more organised, but more united; and I trust the Bishop will become more and more a centre of help for all, and a bond of union. They all urged me to get the collegiate and educational establishments at work as soon as possible, and the printing-press and hospital. But as to finance they could say nothing, but to recommend a continual appeal to England and Scotland not to diminish but to increase their interest and their help. . . .

"The bell was mounted on its supports yesterday, and this morning I have heard its early morning toll

coming over the hills. It will be heard many miles away.

"You can conceive, I think, how happy and thankful I felt to see our church thus arising in a foreign land in the midst of savagedom, and to mark the many gifts from so many persons brought together to beautify the Lord's sanctuary. At the Synod there was a general distribution of Communion services and of altar and chancel furniture and linen, which were greatly appreciated by the missionaries, and the donors would be gratified could they see the pleasure they have given by their gifts."

There were not wanting, as we have seen, discouragements to counterbalance the happy auguries; as for instance, when the people assembled in force for a temperance meeting, and then went away and got drunk to celebrate the occasion.

A native school was soon started—the morning classes held by Miss Gould (the schoolmistress), the evening by the bishop and one or two helpers—at no small inconvenience to the bishop's family, who gave up one of their two small sitting-rooms (the bishop had no study at this time) for the use of the scholars until better accommodation could be found. From two or three the numbers of evening scholars rose in a few weeks to twenty-five, "ranging from A B C to translators of English into Kaffir," the more advanced pupils being those who had begun their education at Spring Vale.

Little by little it was becoming possible to carry out the idea of strengthening the centres of work from

which teaching might by degrees be carried farther afield, while at the same time it was not left to solitary men to bear the whole burden—of poverty, disappointment, perplexity, failure—entailed by missionary life. Within three years the number of clergy had now arisen to ten whites and four natives—a meagre supply indeed for the amount of work already undertaken, not to speak of that which was waiting to be done ; but still giving promise of better things. Mr. Button, with three efficient helpers, was slowly spreading his work from Clydesdale throughout Griqualand ; and his hands were greatly strengthened by the proximity of Mr. Broadbent, working at Ensikeni with a success beyond what could have been hoped for. "No man," the Bishop wrote, "has ever entered on such a work with more faith and less means." The slowness of progress had perhaps not been an unmixed evil—its course could be controlled and guided as a more rapid advance could not have been, and a more extensive outlay at this period would probably have altogether crippled the resources of the diocese.

*To the Secretary of the S.P.G.*

"*Umtata, September 24th*, 1877. . . . Another matter I have taken in hand—another venture. I cannot help it—I must do what I see requires to be done. I am having the printing plant removed to this place. The current expenses will be partly, not altogether, met by returns ; but for its removal I have no funds. The works loudly crying for publication are, a revised Zulu

and Kxosa Prayer Book, and a revised translation of the Kxosa Bible ; and also school-books. . . . It may be an important and hard thing to get funds—it is harder and more important to get men. I want a few men around me with their *hearts and brains too* in the right place—men who have hearts to work for the Master, without any great love of present gain, and who have brains to work long and continuously and well for Him. There is an immense work on hand which it is simply impossible for me to do alone ; but with two or three such men we might in a few years have the Bible and Prayer Book printed, grammars, dictionary. . . . and besides this we might have such a collection of folk-lore as has scarcely been collected anywhere else. I feel quite sure that if I am called away before these things are completed, my collection of words, my translations, my large collection of native tales and legends and proverbs, will be put into some library as mere curiosities, but will never be edited for the good of others. . . . I have not been well lately, and often feel that years and work are beginning to tell on me ; so I am anxious to work while I can, and, whilst working, to train others to go on with the work when my work is done.

" As to our centre, I feel more and more that the healthy future, and even the very existence of the Church as a vigorous, life-giving, and expending force, depend on the efficiency we shall be able to give to the central work of educational training for schoolmasters and clergy. . . . It is a great battle to which you have sent us."

With the autumn there came an anxiety which threatened to become serious misfortune. We have seen (p. 257) how, in the early days of the Church's settlement in Kaffraria, the Gcaleka tribe had in an access of fanaticism destroyed their means of subsistence, and been rescued by Government and the missionaries from the death otherwise inevitable. Many died of starvation as it was; the remainder lived and throve under British protection, without however making much visible progress towards moral or social good. The neighbouring Fingoes, on the other hand, who had been found by the English in a condition of degradation and slavery, had advanced to a level of comparative civilisation, and had begun to occupy lands of their own—as the Gcalekas, with similar industry, might have done likewise. And there was a further cause for jealousy. The Fingoes guarded their property by placing themselves under British protection; and the English, despite all that they had done, and were still doing, were as a thorn in the Gcaleka side.

"There is, no doubt," wrote the bishop, "a great uneasiness amongst the Kaffir tribes everywhere, and perhaps a greater disposition to combine against the white man than at any previous period of the history of South Africa. . . . The Zulu chief, Uketshayo . . . thinks probably that we are unprotected down here, and that if the tribes here attack us they would not only destroy us, but create a diversion which might enable him to destroy the English in the north. The origin of this wish is . . . not the unkindness of the

English nor the severity of the Government. Both Government and people have been most forbearing; and . . . it arises from the antagonism between light and darkness—Christianity and heathenism—between man as a spiritual and man as a mere animal being. I believe that the proper way to deal with these people is to take them over as a charge to be attended to, allotted to us by the providential position in which we find ourselves, and to govern them, not only with kindness and justice, but with the firm hand of the law, which shall visit with rapid and sure punishment every sin against society."

In September, 1877, the long-smouldering quarrel burst into flame. At a festival held about thirty-six miles from Umtata a quarrel arose, and the Gcalekas made a fierce attack on the Fingoes—an attack practically on the British Government under whose protection the Fingoes were. The Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, tried to bring about a reconciliation; failing this, he took immediate steps for repelling the invasion, and sent directions to Umtata that the cathedral should be fortified in case it might be found necessary to sustain a siege. Within a week the peaceful village was transformed; the cathedral was surrounded with a six-foot wall of planks and earth, loopholed at regular distances; and the village itself was encircled by a trench four feet deep, the earth thrown up on the outside as a protection to the shooters. At the bishop's direction this ditch was made more secure by the formation of circular ditches at opposite corners, standing out from

the line ; and within the trenches were drawn up the waggons protecting refugees to the number of about 300, who had assembled here for shelter. Flying rumours from the seat of war kept the little camp in a state of constant agitation ; but conflicting as the reports were, it soon became evident that the rebels, though not altogether subdued, were getting the worst of it, and that there would be no actual need for the defences that had been raised.

For more than three months the condition of the south of the diocese was too unsettled to allow of much progress. Many of the out-stations had been abandoned as dangerous in the unprotected state of the colony ; services were still carried on at Umtata, but the schools had to be closed, and no building could go on, for the materials were banked up as fortifications. At the end of November their plight was rendered more serious by a tempest which swept over the district, carried away roofs and timbers of the new dwelling-houses, and so battered in the west end of the cathedral that the porch was wrenched with its foundations out of the ground. For a time it was feared that the roof would be altogether displaced ; and though no such dire calamity happened, the accident showed that the building was insecure, and entailed more labour and more expense to make it fit for use.

By January the war—such as it was—had spread across the south of the province, cutting off all communication with the lands across the frontier ; and a few weeks later the Amatembu tribes on the west caught the infection, and broke out into insurrection

which threatened to imperil S. Mark's and other important stations. By degrees, however, the war rolled southward, and the Gcalekas, with Kreli their chief, were awed into submission—a fact which augured well for the Church in Gcaleka-land, for Kreli had been her inveterate foe, and it was now hoped that with his fall there might come an opening for the spread of Christianity.

Bishop Callaway had been awaiting his opportunity to travel north for a visitation of the diocese, and now that affairs were settling into their usual state he was able to leave his fortified village on Monday the 28th of January, 1878. The war-panic had left its signs everywhere—traffic had been completely stopped between Kingwilliamstown and the northern towns of the province, and numbers of men were away engaged in the war. Church-services and schools had languished even in the best-worked mission-stations; and whether from this or from some other cause, the bishop found many whom he had known as promising converts now fallen back into indifference, if not into absolute heathenism. In one place he was greeted as one risen from the dead, in consequence of a rumour that Umtata had been destroyed and its inhabitants murdered; and on the other hand some of the Pondos trembled when they saw him appear, thinking that the English were beaten and that he was flying before the enemy.

[*Bishop's Journal*] "*Ensikeni, March* 13*th.* Early Communion, 7.30 A.M.; thirty communicants. Mr. Broadbent has done wonders in the short time he has

been here. There are here about forty Spring Vale people. . . . It is very touching to see their abiding affection for me, Mrs. Callaway, Janie, and Miss Townsend. They gathered around me and loved to talk of other days—our beginnings and progress at Spring Vale. They told me they were happy with Mr. Broadbent, and thought apparently they could not pay him a higher mark of respect than to say that he was my son. They stood and surveyed me all over —said I was white but not a bit old,—I did not stoop as I used to do, but stood quite upright. And, like the Spring Vale people, they said, 'He is not a bit altered. He is just as he was.' . . ."

At Clydesdale, Kokstad, and Matatiela he held services and confirmed. At Matatiela a deputation came to petition for more teachers. First the chiefs spoke—"then some of the headmen; and at last one of the common people said he arose to speak too, because he wished me to understand that it was not the wish of the chiefs only, but of all the people, to have missionaries come amongst them. I told them it was a far wiser and better thing to be seeking after the knowledge of God and of good and wise things than to be thinking of war. War destroyed everything, and this war which was going on would put them back fourteen or fifteen years." In 1879 a mission was started here under Mr. Tonkin, and called S. Paul's.

"There had been some suspicion of [Usidoi], and he had been called, and expressed a great wish to do anything to prove his loyalty. The magistrate

told him to bring in all his guns and give them up. . . . When it was thus settled, and the time was to be fixed when his people should bring in their guns, it was said 'We will not take them—keep them for the Queen and use them for her if necessary." This of course won his heart, and I should have been greatly distressed if he had proved false after that."

In April the bishop returned to Umtata, "the first place that could be called 'home' since his return to Africa in 1874." Hither the news followed him that only a week after his leaving Griqualand the Griquas, Sutos, and Pondos had risen in insurrection. Subsequent messages reported that this was true of only a few of the outlying tribes, and that many of the Sutos and the people of Usidoi had been faithful to the trust placed in them; they had come to the assistance of Captain Blyth the magistrate, aiding him in fortifying Kokstad and driving back the rebels. For a few days the people of Kokstad experienced the horrors of actual war. There was considerable loss of life among the Griquas, and a number of them were taken prisoners, upon which most of the force dispersed. The victory was however a disastrous one for the English, for a powder-magazine within the walls exploded, killing several white men, a young girl, and many of the native police.

At Umtata, though the war had passed away from the neighbourhood and soon died out altogether, there were troubles enough to be undergone. On May 2nd the bishop wrote, "We are suffering from God's great

scourges—war [its effects were still of course most apparent] drought, and an unusual visitation of black caterpillars, which destroy the scanty herbage left by almost two years of drought; we have, too, a great deal of disease, chiefly dysentery and fever. Famine is lowering in the distance, and we are already paying famine prices for food."

The Pondoland mission station, S. Andrew's, suffered so severely that for a time it seemed as if it would be broken up altogether; but in October, 1878, Mr. and Mrs. Oxland were able to return thither and begin to repair its desolations. It was a matter of some regret to the Bishop that his son-in-law (for so he always considered Mr. Oxland) now gave up his mission-work to undertake for a time the duties of British Resident in Pondoland. It was a post which at this juncture needed a man of experience and administrative power, and Mr. Oxland believed that the first step towards doing good was to reduce the country to order.

One of the most serious consequences that the war brought on the church in Kaffraria was the illness of Mr. Broadbent, who had remained at Ensikeni through the long period of anxiety and panic, and whose health and nerves gave way completely when the strain was over. After some months of serious illness, he was ordered home to England, and though Dr. Callaway and the doctors in England gave hopes of ultimate recovery, it was evident that he would not again be fit for the sole charge of a large district. His native pupils at once took up his work, holding the customary services, teaching in the schools and visiting the out-

stations ; and Mr. Chater, who was preparing for Holy Orders, was put in charge.

It is not to be wondered at that the confusion and trouble of this year of war produced a feeling of intense discouragement in Bishop Callaway's mind. Since his appointment in 1874 the number of mission-stations and the number of clergy had been doubled ; and still the Church had not sufficient hold on the country to restrain them from desolating war, still less to hold in check the vices which, as he recognised, were at the root of it. To outsiders it seems scarcely surprising that a little band of men and women, working in this great wilderness for three short years, should have accomplished but a small part of what they had set their hearts on doing ; but to the workers themselves no doubt the years seemed long and the toil hard enough, and still needs were growing which they had no means of supplying. And so we find that the idea of education for the natives was at this time pressing on the bishop with renewed force ; and that as before, he turned his thoughts to the hope of making the natives themselves the teachers, instead of as now having to import men who had to be educated *down* to the natives' standpoint.

*To the* REV. W. T. BULLOCK.

"*S. John's, Umtata, June* 19*th*, 1878. . . . It will be always necessary to have from England a certain number of men, as learned as we can get them, to fill offices of importance. But England can-

not supply the requisite number of missionaries for heathen work, nor is an education in England such as would most fully qualify men for it. It is of the first importance to establish local systems of education, brought into connexion with the English Church by its teachers and officers, by which natives and others may be educated for Church work.

"This education may not be as refined as that attainable at home; but it would supply, as no home education could, a practical knowledge suitable for the work.

" Such a system would enable the Church to gather to itself many a European and native who is now lost; and the actual expenditure would I believe be found in the long run to be less. It takes a man fresh from England five years, upon an average, before he is able to enter fully into his work among the heathen. The outlay of these five years, expended in educating a man already acquainted with the language and habits of the people and the circumstances of life in heathen lands, would be calculated to produce a much more real and efficient instrument. The persuasion that this view is the true one grows upon me year by year.

" It is a mistake to suppose that young men, or imperfectly educated men, will do for [mission work among the heathen.] We want men of fixed character and principles, clear heads and some experience—not novices." Elsewhere he says " Never send out a man for native work who does not intend—D.V.—to devote his life to it!"

"It has become a question of serious import to the Church whether it be not necessary to raise the incomes of school teachers and those in Holy Orders lest the best and most educated men should be drawn to the Government service instead of serving the Church. This has happened in many cases."

Until the cherished project of the training college could be put into execution, the bishop did his utmost to supply the want by taking students to board with him, giving up daily a large proportion of his time to teaching them. By October, 1878, the number of native boys had grown to fourteen, and besides this there were two adult native students, two young Englishmen, and a native who, with his wife, was appointed to look after the boys.

The bishop's verandah-house was now completed, and would have been amply sufficient for their own accommodation; but the influx of this huge family made, as may be supposed, a vast difference to their convenience and to their exchequer. £100 per annum was paid by Government for the maintenance of ten scholars; the rest of the expenses had to be met out of his own income.

In addition to the boarders, he had a number of advanced pupils scattered about the diocese to whom he gave instruction by correspondence; and he was no doubt right in saying—when appealing urgently for funds to build the college—that there were 140 students waiting for education as soon as it could be supplied to them. Such time as could be spared

from these arduous labours was devoted to revising the Prayer Book in Kxosa, and issuing week by week, by means of the papyrograph, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel in a revised form, which were sent to all the missionaries in the diocese. "It has made them feel," he said, "that the Central Station is beginning to be a living fact."

Another serious disaster befell the station at the close of the year in a terrific hurricane, which destroyed some of the older houses, and unroofed and otherwise damaged many of the new ones, including the bishop's house. "My study was entirely uncovered—iron, rafters, laths, and lining all gone. I looked out in front and saw papers and books being whirled through the air, and sheets of iron as though they were straws. The boys' schoolroom was an entire ruin. The boys, fortunately, were at home for the holidays.

"A heavy blow! But it has not destroyed my courage. We at once set about repairing the damages; my study and the bedrooms are already re-roofed, and the ruins of the schoolroom are nearly cleared away. We have determined to build at once with bricks, and hope at the end of three weeks to be better off than before. But it will necessitate our putting on a lot of workmen; it will cost £300 at least to repair the damages. I think if I had not been able to report as I have in a former letter, I must have lost all heart."

The printing-press was also seriously damaged, and all work had to be stopped. Happily, the iron

church, strongly repaired after the disaster of the year before, withstood the shock.

The Cape Government came to the assistance of the much-harassed mission party, who might indeed have been overwhelmed by this destruction of their handiwork. They were now enabled to lay out the village with a market-place 4,000 feet square, from which broad streets led on every side; building-lots were let to the inhabitants, and a little town had soon sprung up around the original group of cottages. So much progress was made that in March it was found possible to establish a long-needed out-station on the Umtentu River, about thirty miles from Umtata. Mr. Coakes tried the experiment, found the people eager to be taught, and arranged with their chief that he would hold a monthly service, with a class for children on the preceding Saturday.

# CHAPTER XVIII

Laying the foundation of S. John's College, Umtata—Bishop's charge; causes of success and failure—"Remarks on the Zulu language"—Hospital started at last—Illness—Voyage to England—English hospitality—War during his absence—Old and new friends—Return to Africa.

IN June, 1879, the first step was taken towards the consummation of Bishop Callaway's cherished scheme for promoting native education. A special effort had been made this year to collect funds in the colony and in England, and it was so far successful that there was now about £2,000 in hand, with which the bishop felt he was justified in beginning to build. In the presence of the clergy, who had been assembled for the Diocesan Synod, and of the magistrates, and several of the neighbouring chiefs, the bishop laid the foundation stone, on June 25th, of S. John's Theological College at Umtata, for the purpose of training young natives and colonists as clergy or lay-teachers. A boys' institution was to be added, to prepare the scholars by a general education for entering on more distinctly theological study.

It was an important occasion in the annals of

Kaffraria, and was further signalised by the deliverance on S. John Baptist's Day (at the opening of the Synod) of a charge by the bishop to his clergy which might well be printed in full, if space would allow.[1] At the risk of repetition we give the following extracts, because (1) they sum up concisely the most valuable among the experiences which he had gained from these twenty-five years of labour; and (2) this is almost the last of his important public utterances, before failing health began to tell upon his powers. The paragraph on education will be read with interest in the light of recent events.

". . . . As the question of the cause of this native uprising against the white man is a question which is necessarily uppermost now, and which must claim the consideration of the State for years to come, you will not think the subject unworthy of the very serious consideration of this Synod, nor regard it as a waste of time if I devote a few minutes to it now.

"The civilised man and the savage,—the trained and the untrained man,—the educated and the ignorant, have come into contact *on equal ground.* The superior man has no prescriptive right to exercise his superiority; his antecedents give him no claim before the native to speak on native questions; on the contrary,

[1] This charge was commended by Sir Bartle Frere, September 12th, 1879, to the special attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as being the work of an "educated English clergyman who . . . has become as well, if not better, acquainted with the Kaffir language and habits of thought than probably any Englishman of similar education and habit."

his antecedents, they think, disqualify him from speaking on them. The inferior man does not always feel the superiority; if he see and admit it, it is only partially and with reluctance; and with a desire not to admit it, and with the determination to ignore it when he can, and outwit it if he is able.

"Then the more ignorant native is the governing class; and whilst willing on all occasions to avail himself of the white man's knowledge, he has no intention to have his savage customs set aside at the white man's bidding, nor his superstitions displaced by the white man's religion, nor his system of government given up for the white man's law. And whatever influence the white man has exerted on native society, jurisprudence, or religion, has been against the wishes of the chiefs and the wishes of the people, and is not very deep or abiding, even on those who have been most affected by it.

"But notwithstanding this passive opposition to progress amongst the natives, which it is but reasonable to expect, they discover that the superior man is gradually dispossessing them; that a change has taken place, they know not how, and that a greater change is coming. The imperceptible daily influence of the better is gradually undermining the worse. The natives cannot fail to perceive various signs of the growing power of the white man in their own mode of thought, act, and in their habits of life; they see the governing power gradually slipping from them, and the tenure of the land changing in character, and its possession passing into other hands. They see every-

where springing up in the very midst of their wilds evidence of the white man's presence; that old things are passing away, and a new order of things arising. There is a change passing over them, a change which is infinitely for their own good, if they will avail themselves of the opportunity providentially thrown in their way, but for their sure ruin if they dash themselves against the power, the God-sent power, which is effecting the change.

"But the savage does not recognise the benefit of this change; he does not love it; he does not wish it to become greater; he hates and resists it; and has determined to crush out the new spirit. There lies the secret of the present wide-spread disaffection, more or less consciously felt and acted upon by the native races.

"It would be well for us to understand what the meaning of this fact is. It means that during the whole time we have lived in the presence of the natives of South Africa, we have not impressed them with a love of our social habits, of our mode of government, or of our religion. In all these respects we have been on our trial before them, and have not recommended ourselves or our institutions to them as a people.

"This is no doubt largely to be attributed to the incongruity between the old notions and the new ideas. But may not the opposition be also largely attributable to the dress in which the new ideas have been clothed; to the mode in which they have been presented; to the surroundings with which they have been accom-

panied, in the general bearing and character, and in some instances in the positive immorality of the white man ?

" I have spoken of three powers which the white man is capable of exercising over the natives : the social, or the power of individuals in their particular sphere ; the legal, or that of the officials of Government ; and the ecclesiastical.

" Of these three powers, the first is perhaps the more effective for good or evil ; for it teaches good or evil by example ; it is in constant operation and it deals with individuals. . . . If the individual white man would bear in mind that as a Christian he is a priest, and live a priestly life among his coloured brethren, there is nothing to prevent their rapid evangelisation.

" As to Government officials, it appears to me that they are rather apt to stand aloof from the religious education of the people. The tendency of public opinion—or should I not say the tendency of a powerful minority in England ?—has for some time past been in favour of separating between secular and religious education ; and the Government, whilst taking more pains than formerly to ensure the secular education of the masses, appear more and more disposed to leave the moral and religious training to the efforts of individuals—to a voluntary system. How these new principles will result, or whether they will ever come into practical operation, is hidden in the future. But we cannot but notice a reaction against them, and re-assertion of the doctrine, that of all the duties of a Government, that of taking charge of the training

of the highest part of man's nature is its first duty. . . .

"It is not to be wished that the officers of Government should enter on any system of active proselytism, or that they should in their administration of justice exercise any partiality towards those who have accepted the Christian faith. But there are many ways in which they could throw the weight of their influence into the right scale, instead of acting as though they thought that the exigencies of their official duties demanded that they should hold a neutral position in religious questions. Differences of opinion and a neutral attitude of mind in reference to the dissensions in the Christian Church in England may be compatible with the firmest belief in Christian truth; yet when the first philosophers of the age who have devoted themselves to the study of the new science 'Comparative Religion' have concluded that it is not a question between the Christian and any other religion, but between the Christian and no religion at all, it seems scarcely possible for the man who has accepted the teaching of Christ as his faith to be indifferent whether it becomes the religion of the world or not.

"Brethren of the clergy, and you religious men now present who by your profession and life declare that you have accepted Christ as your Lord . . . what can you say of the influence we have exerted in South Africa? . . . Must we not confess that we have nothing to boast of in visible results, by which alone men measure, and by which only they can measure suc-

cess? . . . Do not the results, even to ourselves, appear small compared with the personal exertions which have been made, and the treasure which has been expended? Do we not sometimes feel discouraged, and ask how long? Sometimes feel as though the right hand of the Church had lost its cunning in handling the weapons of the Christian warfare, or feel that Christian truth itself had lost somewhat of the force it possessed in the times of our forefathers? But my conviction is that the success of missions amongst the natives of South Africa has been greater than is supposed, and that it is as great as any reasonable calculation of probabilities would lead us to expect. I have not time now to give the reasons on which this conviction has been founded; but I would address myself to a more practical question, whether we might not work on better and more comprehensive principles than hitherto.

"In the first place I think we have somewhat forgotten a fact of very great import, that whilst we ourselves have inherited the results of centuries of culture and religious influence, these people have inherited the results of centuries of savagedom and superstition And when I say inherited, I do not mean received from our fathers a mere external heritage, as we may have received their wealth or their poverty; but that we have inherited a bodily organisation which is in some way very closely associated with mental qualities and tendencies, and which has a great influence over our whole lives, whether we be civilised or uncivilised men. Every thought I think, every wish I wish, every

action I perform is attended by a material change in my bodily structure; and when any thought, wish, or act is continuously repeated, the material change becomes a fixed condition, and with its resulting modified function is transmitted to posterity. Hence it arises that there are different kinds of men in the world, and different fitnesses for different works.

"It appears to me that we may see in God's own education of the world an instructive and an authoritative example we may follow in our work of teaching. And He did not in primitive times, nor all at once, make known to man the fulness of Christian truth; but led him up through lower classes of education, through the comparative unrestraint and liberty of the childhood of our race—the patriarchal and legal systems, marked by greater knowledge and higher functions—all as a means, so far as we can see, for preparing him for his full manhood in Christ. And it is not possible to conceive that God's interest in man—God's love for man—God's teaching was confined to that great line of light which we trace backwards through the descendants of Abraham to primitive times, or that He loves and cares only for the perfected man, and despises childhood in its simplicity, and youth in its comparative ignorance and inexperience. Whilst the Israelites were being educated in a higher and holier system than had ever appeared amongst men previous to Christianity, the Greeks were becoming wise in philosophic and scientific principles; and this served two purposes: that of showing the inadequacy of human wisdom, when working alone without divine

revelation, to satisfy the cravings of man's spirit after God : and the value of a trained mind, when illumined by divine light, in working out the highest and holiest truths which can affect the present and future destinies of man. At the same time the Roman was working out, through much hard-bought experience, the best mode of governing men. And then came the Christ into a world prepared for the reception of a higher culture, and holier views of the Divine Being and of the duty of man.

"And the Lord Himself, in His personal ministrations, did not overwhelm the Jews with a religious philosophy, but simply cast the living seed of His divine truth into the soil of humanity, and left it to grow where soil was already prepared for its reception : He taught the people as they were able to bear it. And from this teaching, and the facts of redemption effected by Him, there went forth from Jerusalem a system which gathered to itself all that was true and good in humanity, and sanctified it for the benefit of man by its own divine power. . . .

"The office of a missionary amongst such a people requires an infinite patience, forbearance, and tact.

"Then, I think, there has arisen from this inability to descend to the state of those we are teaching, with a view of raising them to a higher position, just the opposite defect, though it naturally results from it. We have failed to teach them as they were able to bear it, and have wondered that they remained unaffected ; and then lost faith in them altogether and in their capacity to receive divine truth. But I am

quite sure that any faithful man, who has warm sympathy with the weak and ignorant as our Saviour had, and works amongst them simply and truly, will be able to sound the depths of their capacity, that there will linger no doubt in his mind that they are men made for the Gospel, and that the Gospel has been provided for and is suited for them. We are learning wisdom at last; and it appears to me a cause of great congratulation that the Church has at length awoke to the necessity of raising a native ministry. Our not attending to this at an earlier period exhibits a suspicion of the native capacity and sincerity, and has acted as a prophecy which fulfilled itself; and at the same time has caused the religion we have to teach to appear to the natives an alien system—as *our* religion, not *theirs*.

"I wish to dedicate to God all my remaining power, and bind it to the purpose of raising a native ministry; and for this purpose to establish such an institution at this place as shall ensure for the whole of Kaffraria a more educated class of society, and an efficient Christian ministry, that so when we have passed from our labours, we may leave behind us a body of good and leal men, and well-trained servants of Christ, our one Master, to take up our work and carry it on to the glory of God."

There is a passage in Dr. Callaway's *Remarks on the Zulu Language* (published in 1870), which may be read in connexion with the above to prove that he was essentially practical in seeking the causes of past failures and their remedies. It is often asked whether

or not Christianity exercises an abiding influence for good upon a savage race—whether they are not exposed to more danger in being set free from the traditional ties which have hitherto bound them than in living and dying in ignorance. Dr Callaway was perhaps the last man to under-estimate the danger; but he is prepared to meet and overcome it.

"There is," he says, "a constant corruption of native language and manners going on under the influence of the white man. The natives have distinct laws and customs regulating their conduct towards each other. . . . We are ourselves to a great extent giving up those marks of mutual respect . . . which prevail in European society . . . In dealing with natives . . . as a general rule scarcely any effort is made to teach them proper behaviour . . . . The foolish familiarity with which they are often treated; the utter neglect of their language which generally prevails; and the absence of politeness which they notice in the conduct of many white men towards each other, are acting most injuriously on the native mind. Now, whatever others may do or leave undone, the missionary should guard against all such tendencies. He should study the language in its most minute and delicate details; he should labour to master it, and never rest till he has done so. He should also inform himself of their laws and customs and modes of thought, and not go among them and with one word of condemnation set down the natives as wholly and utterly wrong—with one sweep of the pen try to blot out the customs of generations. Whatever

is evil among them try to correct; whatever is good try to retain, try to make the most of, try to make it the starting-point to something better with which they are not yet acquainted. Above all let him teach them the Gospel of which he is the professed minister in intelligible and proper language, free from Anglicisms or an English mode of thought in Zulu garb. And in the matter of prayer especially, let him study the Zulu language and the Zulu mind, and utterly avoid all approach to familiarity or irreverence in his prayers to God."

*To the* REV. H. W. TUCKER (*Secretary of the S.P.G.*).

"*Umtata, November* 14*th*, 1879. . . . The work throughout the diocese is really growing, and matters are becoming more complete and organised. It might, however, without any difficulty be trebled with the requisite workers and funds. . . . We are doing all we can to increase the efficiency of native agents, by providing a higher education, secular and theological, at this place. Native teachers by ones and twos spend a few months with us, and return to their work stronger, we trust, and wiser. There are many in our school of whom we entertain hopes that they will dedicate themselves to God's work; they are being educated accordingly with the distinct expectation that they will help to form the future native clergy of Kaffraria. The age from fifteen to twenty-two or more is one of extreme temptation, and it really is becoming a very serious question

whether as a rule it would not be better to postpone Ordination to Holy Orders until the age of thirty.

"The Hospital system, so many years talked of and worked for, may now be regarded as fairly started. . . . I received about £300 from the kindness of English friends, and £180 from friends in Natal; this has been carefully husbanded until it has reached £900. . . . We have purchased from the mission a cottage built for a clergyman, and are using it as a cottage hospital. From this will grow a hospital system in proportion to the requirements and capabilities of the future."

*To* MISS TOWNSEND.

"*Umtata, December 26th*, 1879. . . . Just before the Misses Ridding's generous donation[1] I did not in the least see anything before me, yet I had determined to put down with a strong hand all doubtings and fears, and work on as best I could. When I heard of the gift, and looked at the whole question fully, I concluded I should be wise in setting to work on the Boys' and the College Building in January, trusting that as money was required it would be forthcoming. . . . We have engaged . . . a Scotch stonemason and builder . . . as foreman, and he will bring four others. We shall make this a branch of education, and hope to get a Government grant in aid."

During this year, while changes were being made in the internal government of South Africa, the bishop

[1] One of many gifts made by these ladies to the Mission Fund.

published in the *Umtata Register* an article on Mission-Stations, representing that the undefined limits of the missionary's jurisdiction formed a hindrance to his practical influence. The power that he had hitherto wielded was largely a matter of personality ; the chiefs allowed it, for the sake of the advantage to be gained by friendship, but they secretly resented any interference with their acknowledged "rights," while the knowledge that there was an appeal from native to English jurisdiction might easily exercise a demoralising influence on the people themselves, if they were crafty enough to make a plausible case.

It was advisable, he said, that the civil jurisdiction should be in the hands of English magistrates, working *with* the clergy, but leaving them free to carry on their own work unhampered. The missionary's teaching would then be addressed "not only to individuals, with the result of making them 'mission people' instead of 'chief's people,' and thus destroying their sense of nationality; but . . . to the *total population*, with the view of making Christianity an integral and essential part of the national life."

In the spring of 1880, Bishop Callaway was attacked by a stroke of paralysis involving temporary loss of sight. It was, no doubt, the result of a long strain of overwork and anxiety, and the doctors ordered a complete rest as the only likely means of restoration. Arrangements were accordingly made for his spending a year in England, and he started with Mrs. Callaway as soon as he was able to travel. Before leaving Africa he was able to strengthen his

staff by ordaining Mr. Waters and Mr. Cameron to the priesthood.

At any time the leaving of his post must have been a trial to him; but it was perhaps the more so now, when the scheme which had occupied so much of his thought and brought him so much anxiety was at last about to be carried into execution. A resident surgeon, Dr. Craister, had arrived from England with his wife in August 1879, and had settled in one of the cottages at Umtata belonging to the mission. As he extended his knowledge of the language he became able to take over the whole of the medical work in the town and its neighbourhood; and finding himself crippled, as the bishop had long been, by not being able to concentrate his work, he succeeded in getting the little house enlarged and fitted up for use as a hospital and dispensary, himself continuing to live there. Small as it was, it was a separate institution, the development indeed of the hospital system which the bishop had for years carried on in his own house, but having the obvious advantages of the exclusive services of a tiny staff of regular workers. The funds had accumulated to nearly £1,000, enough to set the institution going until they could hope to render it self-supporting; and the little building, though still only temporary, fulfilled its mission nobly until the erection of the permanent hospital a year or two later.

The bishop arrived in England early in June; the sea-voyage had partly restored his strength, but to the many friends who welcomed his home-coming it was evident that the past years of strenuous work had told

upon him severely. He settled at Morland Park, Croydon, with old friends, and as the summer passed on the rest and quiet brought back in great measure his wonted activity of mind and body. Towards the autumn he was better able to preach and speak in public, making a week's stay in Lincolnshire to plead the cause of his large and poverty-stricken diocese; and in October he accepted the invitation of the Bishops of Moray and Ross, Brechin, and Edinburgh, to visit Scotland, and encourage by his presence the helpers who had equipped him for his episcopal labours.

*From* BISHOP EDEN *to* BISHOP CALLAWAY.

"*Eden Court, Inverness, June* 14*th*, 1880.—My dear Brother,—I am so pleased to find that you are safely landed in England. He who is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' has bid *you*, as He once did other of His Apostles, to come apart from the multitude and rest awhile, . . . nor, I am sure, will He suffer His work to be hindered now, any more than He did while His Apostles were resting. . . . We must be at work for you while you calmly trust in the Lord and be at peace.

"I know not what your plans may be, but be they what they may, there shall always be a 'chamber on the wall' at Eden Court for the Prophet of the Lord, where you shall enjoy perfect rest. . . . Ever, my dear Lord, your affectionate Brother,

"ROBERT,

"*Bishop of Moray, &c., Primus.*"

The clergy of Kaffraria had intended to present their bishop with a pastoral staff at this time, and as he was obliged to be absent from his diocese, they paid a graceful compliment to the Scottish bishops in sending the staff to the Primus with a request that he would fulfil the office in their name. Time and place were left to his discretion, and he chose as most fitting the evening of All Saints' Day, and S. Mary's Cathedral at Edinburgh, where, just seven years ago, Bishop Callaway had knelt for consecration at his own hands.

"The bishops of the Church of Scotland," he said, "sent you forth as their first missionary bishop. . . . Forgive me if I presume to say that you have more than fulfilled [their] expectations. . . ." Especially he spoke of the bishop's wisdom in laying a sure foundation, "as a wise master-builder," by the establishment of schools and colleges, and by the promotion of industrial training as a most necessary part of Christian civilisation.

Little did Bishop Callaway think that his diocese was once more in a state of turmoil and danger, that houses and churches which he had devoted his life to building were being ruthlessly wrecked and plundered, and that on the very day when this ceremony took place, a little band of Christians were being murdered for their loyalty to the Church and the English Government.

The cause of the outbreak was, as usual, jealousy between tribes; but deeper down lay the old grievance of jealousy against the English Government on the

part of the wilder and more remote natives who had not submitted to her rule. In the present instance the English magistrate in Pondoland had asked the Pondomisi chief to unite with him against the turbulent Basutos ; and the chief, after promising compliance, had invited Mr. Hope to his kraal and murdered him, following up the act by a marauding expedition. The rebellion spread rapidly among natives hostile "not only towards all white men, but also to those natives who are Christians, or who have manifested a disposition to adopt the new culture. The chief enmity was . . . . manifested towards the magistrates, some of whom were shut up in their residences and besieged there. . . . The chiefs, in several instances, when not openly hostile, declared their inability to restrain their people."[1]

Among the mission-stations wrecked, if not altogether swept away, by the outbreak were Matatiela, All Saints', S. Augustine's, S. Andrew's, and Kokstad ; Umtata happily was spared, after the inhabitants had undergone intense anxiety through rumours of native troops advancing upon the town plundering and burning as they came. "It is a relief and comfort," the bishop wrote, "to find what a centre of security and help the Umtata has proved. It was naturally the point to which all colonists in the neighbourhood looked, and to which they flocked. Eleven hundred white men had collected there, and 150 refugees from the Pondomisi found there protection and support." The Tembu chief also threw in his lot with the English at Umtata ;

[1] Bishop Callaway, *Mission Field*, March 1881, p. 95.

and through all the horror of war and threatenings of famine it was cheering to the English to see how from every part of the diocese the more peaceably disposed natives made common cause with them against the rebels, who in almost all cases were those to whom Christianity had not reached.

S. Augustine's underwent perhaps the greatest danger and privation. The lay missionary, Mr. Stewart, with his wife and child; Mr. Cameron, who had come over from Umtata to celebrate the monthly communion; a trader with his wife and family, and one or two more, escaped from the village (warned by one of the native priests, Stephen Adonis) to Tsolo, where they took refuge with the magistrate in the gaol, and remained there half starved and in constant fear of immediate death for seven days. At the end of that time a party of Pondo Kaffirs came to release them and convey them to Umtata; and as the Pondomisi were themselves in dread of being surprised by their enemies they drew back and allowed the Christians to pass unmolested. Mr. Stewart was most anxious as they passed to send a party to bring out the people of Mbogotwana, a little band of Christian Fingoes who had settled there a few years before under the protection of the Pondomisi chief. The leaders of the relief party declared this to be impossible, and Mbogotwana was left to its fate. The following night, November 1st, the place was surrounded by the rebels—who had long regarded the little colony with jealousy and suspicion—and seven men, including a native missionary, were put to death.

The immediate danger passed away sooner than could have been hoped, the lack of organisation among the rebels making it easier for the English and native troops to cope with them. But the deplorable state in which many mission centres had been left, and the impoverished condition of the diocese, made the bishop's friends in Africa more and more anxious for his return. Further appeals also reached England for help to enable the Church to stand her ground against Dissent.

Bishop Callaway himself longed to be back among his people; but as the doctors would not yet permit his return, he employed the time of enforced rest in making their needs known by writing and preaching. A circular letter, written while the rebellion was scarcely yet suppressed, appealed for means "to avenge their injuries by bearing to the murderers the knowledge of the love of God."

Addressing a meeting at Plymouth, he spoke of the preponderance of small coins usually to be found among offerings for missions, and told a story of a Kaffir chief who brought gifts in the name of the various members of his household. There was £10 for himself, £5 for his wife, £1 for each of his elder children—and 3d. for the baby. The moral was obvious, and let us hope the audience took the hint.

*To* MRS. STONE.

"*Morland Park* [*Croydon*], 19*th November*, 1880. . . . I feel the cold very much, but all my friends are so

kind and considerate, and lovingly anxious for my comfort and health, that I feel almost ashamed to be so much thought for and cared for. . . . My mission in the world hitherto has been to care for others; now it is to have others care for me. . . .

"I went to Oxford on Tuesday and came back to-day [Friday]—I much enjoyed the visit, having had very pleasant interviews with Mr. John Wordsworth, Montagu Burrows, Max Müller, Mr. Boyd, &c., especially a short but most valuable interview with Canon King.

"I am very well, only a little tired. I so long to go back to Africa; but the doctor says I am not to be in any hurry. . . ."

In January, 1881, one of his sisters, Jane Callaway, died at Heavitree, and the bishop went down after her death to see his only remaining sister Elizabeth, who had been for some time an invalid, and whom he confided to the care of a nephew for the remainder of her life. She died in the following year.

*To* MISS LYON.

"*Heavitree, Exeter, February* 11*th*, 1881. . . . You ask about my family. . . Elizabeth and Jane, the one lately deceased, and I have been for many years the only survivors. When I was sixteen and a half I left home, and have gone my own way without much intercourse with my family. My dear, gentle mother's death, about forty-seven years ago, was the signal for the breaking-up of our family. . . Although

there are few men, perhaps, who would have loved and enjoyed home-life, and loving brothers and sisters and children to prattle around them, more than I, I have been very much shut out from such associations, and had to do a great battle with many difficulties almost alone, so far as human relations are concerned. Yet I have met with many loving friends as I have gone along on my pilgrimage; and though a lonely, have had on the whole a very happy, placid life. . . .

"I thankfully think of the new friends God has given me within the last few years, during my last and present visit to England, and amongst the dearest I place you and your dear mother.[1] God did not bring us together to grasp loving hands of friendship, and to grasp each other more warmly still with our heart's best love . . that having loved we might be separated again for ever. . . ."

It was only natural that Bishop Callaway should have wished to use his renewed health and strength in the service of his diocese by accepting the many invitations which called him to preach and speak in England and Scotland during this year's stay in England. The large increase in the funds showed that he was using his influence to good purpose. Unfortunately the effort taxed his strength to an extent that rather alarmed the physicians, who found that he was constantly losing as much as he had gained; and it was proposed that he should spend a few months on the Continent before returning to

[1] Mrs. Lyon had lately died.

Africa. The requisite funds might have been obtained if he could have been induced to consent. But the unsettled state of his diocese, more than ever needing his care, decided him to limit his holiday to the prescribed year; and he set sail from Southampton in the *Trojan* on the 5th of May, 1881. Before starting he had enlisted the services of a doctor, Mr. D. W. Johnston, who followed him a month later to take charge of the Umtata Hospital, and of two young clergymen. The addition of these valuable fellow-workers to the staff necessitated a further increase of expenditure, and an earnest appeal was made to the Scottish Board of Missions to supply means to meet this demand. The S. P. G., already sorely tried by increasing demands on their income, consented to allow the continuance of their former grant, instead of reducing it, as in many cases they had been obliged to do.

# CHAPTER XIX

Hope changed to disappointment—Overtaxed strength—New buildings at Umtata—Appointment of Bransby Key as Coadjutor Bishop—Callaway settling at "Bishopsdene," Clydesdale — The Last Synod—Death of Thurston Button—Resignation—Return to England—Last years and death—"Callaway Memorial College."

On June 14th all the population of Umtata came out to welcome the Bishop on his home-coming with every sign of rejoicing. A service of thanksgiving was held, and all were happy in the prospect of having their "Umfundisi" to work once more among them. The bishop wrote early in July full of hope and courage in spite of the trials that the diocese had undergone.

"It ill becomes us, who have received so much good from our Divine Master in the prosecution of His work in Kaffraria, to be discouraged. . . . We did not go to that dark part of the world to be conquered, but by the name and might of Christ to overcome. . . We have no thought of giving up the contest, no thought that the enemy has gained aught by slaughtering the men who were beginning to believe in, to love and follow, Christ. . . . We

have before us, not only to complete the colleges, &c., at Umtata, and to extend the work in all directions, but also to build up the stations which have been laid waste."

He was fully hoping to set on foot once more the Pondoland Mission at S. Andrew's, which had been stopped by the Gcaleka War of 1877, and to build up the unfortunate towns which, after years of patient growth, had been thrown back by recent disturbances. Kokstad and Matatiela were perhaps the saddest instances—they had waited so long for teachers, and only within the past year or two had the missions begun to take root in their midst.

Pastor and people were destined to sore disappointment. Scarcely a month had passed since his landing in Africa before the bishop was again attacked by a return of his old illness, and the doctors once again ordered absolute rest. But rest for the body is of little avail without rest for the mind, which in these troublous times was for him an impossibility. He rallied sufficiently to be able to hold a conference with his clergy in August, and learnt from their own lips the forlorn condition in which many found themselves. "The recent losses," he wrote, "in the shape of property and broken-up work cannot be made up with less than £4000. I distributed the £800 I collected (the Relief Fund raised in England and Scotland) amongst the missionaries, but we could only give *7s. 6d.* in the pound to meet their losses."

At the end of August Bishop Callaway started with

Archdeacon Button for a six weeks' journey through the north of his diocese. A fall of snow had made the rough country roads more than usually bad, and the travelling (" trying even for us younger men," as the archdeacon said) tried the bishop severely; but with some very slight exceptions he kept up his strength throughout the whole period. A short stay was made at Kokstad to consider the state of Church affairs there; and as the missionary, Mr. Davis, was resigning his post, Mr. Oxland consented to give up the post he had been holding as Resident Agent to the Pondos, and to resume his clerical work. A fortnight's sojourn at Clydesdale gave the bishop an opportunity of meeting numbers of old friends, who "flocked to see him from Ensikeni, and even from Spring Vale." He returned by Kokstad, S. Andrew's —which was "wonderfully improved" as to outward appearance—and S. John's River Port, where it was decided that Mr. Tonkin, now appointed to S. Andrew's, should begin to hold services, and start a fund for building a small church. Part at least of the homeward journey was more comfortable than the starting had been; for a good road was in course of construction between S. John's Port and Umtata.

The exertion had, however, told upon him, and the old trouble returned late in October, and again more seriously a month later. There was no organic disease, the doctors said, but excessive heart weakness, accompanied by threatenings of paralysis and often by partial blindness.

*To* MISS LYON.

"*Umtata, November 9th,* 1881.... Cultivate loving, trustful feeling towards God. I am sure we cannot by any imagination form anything but a very faint conception of His infinite love and forbearance with us.... If cherishing something in thought, word, or deed, which is not in accordance with His will, we are by our own fault shutting ourselves out from the joy of His loving presence. He does not change with our changing moods. It frequently happens that all our spiritual darkness and sorrow arises from some bodily cause, whilst we are attributing it to a hiding of His face. So it is a really great and practical help in our daily walk to settle ourselves with an unshakable faith in His unchangeableness towards us, and know that what we have to pass through is permitted or sent to us as a means of weaning us more from evil to the purity of His own goodness."

The bishop rallied sufficiently to be able to get well through his Christmas ordination and two confirmations. He was full of thought for his numerous building plans—the college, the school for girls, the printing-house, and the stone chancel which he wished to see replacing the present wooden chancel in the pro-cathedral. The school-house was making rapid progress, absorbing the funds which the bishop had collected during his year in England, and which unfortunately were not reinforced—as he hoped they would be—in the same proportion after his return to Africa. Old friends faithfully and liberally continued their

help, but the bishop was perhaps hardly aware how much the large sum he had then collected had been called forth by his own personal influence. The old money-troubles, which had seemed to be partially abating, thus began pressing upon him with renewed weight, and increased the fears of the many in England and Africa who knew how to value his work and character. An anonymous letter from one of these appeared early in 1882 in the *Mission Chronicle*. The writer spoke of the symptoms which had already manifested themselves in the bishop's health and which pointed to worse trouble if means were not taken to lift the present burden from him by giving him an assistant in his labours. "Let us bestir ourselves, that he may so be able to instruct his assistant and indoctrinate him with his plans and methods of working his vast diocese, that when the end comes we may not feel that for want of generous help we have worn out this zealous servant of God, or prevented his being able to arrange for the continuance on wise lines of so good a work as his. It seems to me that whether we approve or not of all that is done in Kaffraria (some think the work is being extended too fast) this is a time to unite as one man to make up the required sum—one which, after all, ought to be no burden to Scottish people, if they give it for the love of Christ."

Mr. Cameron, who was now undertaking a good many of the duties of private secretary for the bishop, and who, from his tender care for him in the years that followed, came to be regarded by him almost

as a son, spoke from his larger experience on the same subject :—" I believe the great wish of all his clergy is to spare him all the anxiety and worry possible, for I think all of us recognise fully his value to the Church and to the diocese. . . . Of course I know that God is able to raise up men to do His work here as elsewhere. But our dear bishop's experience, his kindness and his tender consideration for others, his fatherly and comforting advice, and the kindly interest he takes in one and all of his workers, make us fear to lose him from our midst. . . . I think if he had a coadjutor, and . . . . if we were to remove from Umtata to some quieter place in the diocese (. . . . people have been so long accustomed to go to the bishop personally that it is difficult to make them understand that they must not do so now), and the coadjutor were to take the long travelling and rough journeys, together with all bothering details, off his hands, leaving him only the general direction and such episcopal work as he could easily do—we might still perhaps have for some time the benefit of his guidance. And the coadjutor might make the experience the bishop has gained by a long life devoted to missionary work his own for future guidance ; and so after the bishop is unable himself to hold the reins of the administration of the diocese, his hand may still be felt on them."

In March there was a return of strength, though public speaking and preaching were still exceedingly tiring to him. He took the opportunity to make a tour in the south of the diocese—St. Mark's, Hebe-

hebe, &c.—holding in all six confirmations during the month of absence, and spending much time in conferring with natives and others on religious and social matters. As far as might be he avoided all preaching except at his confirmations; but celebrated the Holy Communion on Sundays at the various resting-places.

A sharp attack of illness, soon after his return in April, once again proved that such great and prolonged exertion was too much for him; and it decided him to take the step which had been for some time in contemplation—of moving with Mrs. Callaway to S. John's River Port, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Oxland. "It is about fifty miles from [Umtata]," he wrote to Miss Lyon, "a beautiful spot, not so hot as this, having sea breezes and free currents of air from the river. The banks of the river are wooded to the edge and to the sea. When the road is finished I might pass from place to place in a day." Mrs. Callaway accordingly settled here; while the bishop spent as much time with her as he could spare from his duties at Umtata.

*To* MISS LYON.

"*Umtata, June 26th*, 1882. . . I am preparing for the coming Synod. When that is over I am intending to go down to Port S. John's and stay there for a time, waiting on circumstances. It is a great undertaking to build a house, and I cannot in an out-of-the-way place like Port S. John's get one without building—[it

is] perfectly easy of access by sea, and by land too if the roads were made; but about eight or ten miles between this place and the port is as bad a road as we can well conceive of—perhaps the worst piece of road that I have to travel by. Thus I am living in various uncertainties, but trusting to the guiding Hand unseen.... At times I feel as well as ever, at other times I am good for nothing. Yesterday I had the worst attack of blindness, for an hour, that I have yet had. So my future is as obscure now as when I was in England. You will understand by this that I have myself as much need of faith and patience as any of those to whom I recommend them. It is very restful to feel that we have a loving Father to speak to, and that He will keep us and guide us.

"... Through our Divine Head we can continue to sympathise with [the dead], and be encouraged to strive to do what in their best moments they wished us to do, and what now they would wish us to do and be, if they could speak to us after having stood in the light of the new life and got a little glimpse of the glory.... If, as I believe, the redeemed, when they have passed into the presence of the Lord to be ever with Him, are permitted the privilege and joy of interceding for the living, I am sure we are blessed by [their] intercessions for us."

The Synod was held in July. It was decided that the appointment of a coadjutor was necessary, and the question was referred to the Provincial Synod which was to meet at Capetown in the following January.

A clergyman who had come from England just

before the opening of the Synod to undertake an important missionary post at Umtata, wrote home an account of his arrival and of the condition of the town at this stage of its development. He and a lad of seventeen had walked the 150 miles between King-williamstown and Umtata in five and a half days, and had come through various not very pleasant experiences — losing their way, passing through "periodical drizzle, bad paths, sometimes all mud and sometimes all water"—fording flooded rivers, and on one occasion arriving at the halting-place to find that there was no lodging to be had. "You may imagine our excitement as we drew near the Umtata on Thursday evening.... We reached the cathedral in the middle of Kaffir service—a purely native con-gregation and the service conducted by a native deacon.... It was a great pleasure to see the bishop again.... The place is much prettier than I expected; not flat, but with undulating hills all round, and mountains with dark patches of forest in the background. The bend of the river in which the mission is is very pretty. The great want in the surrounding country is trees. Taken as a whole it reminds me a good deal of bleak parts of Scotland and Ireland. The town is composed partly of huts and partly of houses, and on the other side of it from us lies the C.M.R. camp. The pro-cathedral is much smaller than I expected, and the choir is on the same level with the nave.... We unmarried clergy all board together, the bishop joining with us as long as he is up here."

Among the buildings which were begun in the course of this year were the "Augusta Memorial" Girls' School, named in memory of Mrs. Cree, who had been one of the most active workers in planning and collecting for it; a school for "red Kaffir" children not trained sufficiently to mix with other children; and a church (S. James's) for European services, which was opened in the April following. It was impossible to consecrate in the absence of titles to the land; but Bishop Callaway drew up and read a short service of dedication. About the same time Dr. Johnston's Hospital was completed and opened. It consisted (in addition to the house already in use, and which was also the doctor's own residence) of three small wards for natives, erected at a little distance from the original hospital.

The Provincial Synod assented without hesitation to the proposal for appointing a coadjutor bishop for S. John's, and called an assembly to meet in April for the election. The choice fell on the Rev. Bransby Key, who had been for many years an active worker in the diocese. The consecration took place at Umtata on the 12th of August, 1883, the consecrating bishops being the Metropolitan and the Bishops of S. John's, Zululand, and Maritzburg.

The mission at Port S. John's had made good progress during Bishop Callaway's stay there, and it was a disappointment to him to find that for various reasons the place was unsuitable for a permanent residence. He and Mrs. Callaway left for Clydesdale at the end of August; and before leaving the bishop

presented to the struggling little mission a sum of £400 previously advanced by him for the building of the new church—or school-chapel, as it modestly called itself.

*To* MISS LYON.

"*Port S. John's, August 27th,* 1883. . . . I do not expect to visit England again. I hope my long unsettlement, two and a half years, is coming to an end. It is now quite settled that we shall not settle at Port S. John's. Mrs. Callaway does not like it and it does not suit me . . . . You will probably have heard of my having . . . . gone to Clydesdale, which I started from Spring Vale, where Archdeacon Button is working a good work with many Spring Vale people about him. I was delighted with Durban and its wonderful progress and beauty, and for some reasons should like to settle there; but others forbid it. I have purchased a piece of land adjoining Clydesdale —about three miles from Archdeacon Button's house —where I intend to build myself a house, a snuggery for my last days, where I hope in quiet study to spend my time in arranging my large mass of material collected during my thirty years' mission life. I hope there to build 'my own' little chapel, to become, it is to be hoped, a centre of life and light to that neighbourhood . . . . [and to help] Archdeacon Button, who is to me like a son, to consolidate his work and extend it; which I shall be able to do without any great demand upon my powers . . . . The place where I am intending to build a house

overlooks Clydesdale; it is situated on a hill . . . . surrounded by higher hills sheltering it from storms —well wooded and watered. It is to be called Bishopsdene."

The same letter contained a warm invitation, accepted by Miss Lyon a few months later, that she would come and share the new home if she could make up her mind to break the ties that bound her to England.

There was the usual amount of trouble and delay in getting the new house built. "It has been a great effort to keep patience or at times 'feel good' in the midst of the mismanagement," wrote the bishop to Mrs. Oxland. But in course of time a pretty and commodious house was furnished, with the much-desired chapel, the apse of which corresponded to the bay windows of the dwelling-rooms.

Not very much time lay before him in which to enjoy this home of rest. Already any public work had become so trying to him that he felt for four or five weeks the effect of preaching a sermon. His withdrawal from active work made a disastrous difference in the financial condition of the diocese, so much so that, in July, 1884, it had been decided to suppress three of the mission-stations, sparsely scattered as they were over the vast area, and to reduce by fifty per cent. the incomes of all the clergy in the diocese. But upon an urgent appeal made (by the bishop's commissary, the Rev. E. D. Cree) on behalf of this "purely missionary diocese," a sum was raised in Scotland which partly relieved the anxiety

and staved off the evil day of retrenchment. At the same time the death, in November of this year, of Miss Henrietta Townsend, who for many years had devoted time, energies, and money to the diocese (at first as a resident in Africa, and with no less zeal after her return to England), cut off from the Church in Kaffraria one valuable source of help. Shortly before her death she had sent out from England as a gift to the bishop the materials for a private chapel to be annexed to Bishopsdene. Owing to delay and some misunderstanding the house had already been arranged, as before mentioned, with its own little chapel, and the new building was not needed. At the bishop's request Miss Townsend put aside her own wishes and consented to have it altered in such a way as to make it suitable for the use of the Kokstad people, who had long been in need of a church.

The opening of the fifth Synod in June, 1885, was one of Bishop Callaway's last public acts. For some time longer he lived quietly at Bishopsdene, hoping that rest might in some measure restore his working powers; but though there was an occasional improvement, it was always followed by an increase of weakness, and it became evident to him that his post must be abandoned.

In April 1886 a sorrow fell on the whole diocese. Archdeacon Button, one of its most earnest and capable workers, who had been to the bishop as a son, was thrown from his horse while riding from Clydesdale to Bishopsdene, and died after a few weeks' illness.

His death broke one of the strongest personal ties that bound Bishop Callaway to the diocese, and the blow was too heavy for his feeble strength. In June he sent in his resignation to the Metropolitan. There was no doubt that it was the wisest course to take; and the S.P.G. accepted the resignation, sending him at the same time a warm acknowledgment of the faithful service he had rendered during thirty years of missionary work.

The resignation of his charge had given Dr. Callaway a more complete rest than he had been able to enjoy while the cares of the diocese were still upon him, and during the months that followed he regained some strength to enable him to face the long voyage home. He arrived in England, with Mrs. Callaway and Miss Lyon, early in May, 1887, and settled for a time at Croydon. The bishop's thoughts turned however to Devonshire, the home of his childhood, and in 1888 they removed thither, and took a house at Ottery S. Mary.

All idea of work was out of the question, for his mind was quite wearied out. For more than a year he lived here in quiet contentment, enjoying the peace of country life after so many years of toil.

Towards the end of 1889 he grew much weaker and the prayers of the Scottish Church were asked on his behalf. In March "one of his old workers, visiting him after three years' separation, was much shocked at the greatness of the change; a kind smile, a warm pressure of the hand, possibly a recognition, but no words and no certain sign."

He did not suffer but grew gradually weaker, and on the 26th of March, 1890, the end came. On the 31st, Monday in Holy Week, his body was laid to rest in Ottery churchyard. Three of his own South African clergy were among the many friends who followed him to the grave.

No more fitting memorial could have been chosen than the building which bears his name, an addition to S. John's Theological College at Umtata. The actual labour of erecting and organising that college had indeed passed out of his hands of late years, and fallen to the share of younger men unencumbered with endless cares and responsibilities. But it was Dr. Callaway who had recognised, even in the early days of his mission, the existence in the Kaffir race of a capacity for good amidst so much that was disheartening and unpromising. He had fastened on that good, fostered and trained it, and secured for it the conditions under which it might grow to its full stature and spread itself abroad among the distant nations whom his own teaching had not been able to reach. With this end in view he had planned S. John's College; and, steadfast in the faith that the Spirit of God is dwelling in every one of His children, and leading and guiding them through ways that man cannot see, he had perhaps communicated to others the hopefulness that was ever his own marked characteristic, and made it possible for the work to be carried out.

# POSTSCRIPT BY DR. CALLAWAY'S LITERARY EXECUTOR

As it was my great privilege to enjoy a very intimate and well-nigh life-long friendship with the late Dr. Callaway, it is, perhaps, not surprising that he asked me to act as "literary executor," and take charge of the papers he might leave at his decease. He never mentioned publication, nor gave me any directions as to what he desired to have done with them. When, however, in the natural course of events my dear friend was taken to his rest, I felt that the life of one who was so richly imbued with the love of God, and whose mind was so acute and at the same time so original and so practical in its methods of work, ought to afford subject matter for a memoir that would be suggestive, stimulating, and generally helpful to many.

Having little leisure and less literary experience, I mentioned the matter to my friend, the Rev. Canon Benham, and he most kindly undertook the production of a memoir. His daughter, Miss Marian Benham, at once took in hand the mass of MSS. and letters, and after a great amount of thoughtful labour

she has produced the connected narrative contained in the present volume. For this, not only I, but all who may enjoy and profit by the book, owe her our very grateful thanks. The selections from journals and letters have been so judiciously made, and the proportion between different parts so well maintained, that the whole presents a graphic and truthful picture of the man.

Callaway's religious convictions, almost from boyhood, were strong, and he acted upon them without hesitation. This gave earnestness and decision to his character; but mingled with these sterner qualities were warm affections and winning amiability of speech and manner, which drew to him very closely those with whom he was brought in contact. In person he was tall and thin, with a remarkably intellectual countenance, frequently lighted up, especially in his younger days, with a peculiarly sweet smile and general expression. Such characteristics naturally inspired confidence and affection, and it is not surprising that when in medical practice his patients became strongly attached to him. After he had finally decided to relinquish practice and had taken personal leave of many of his patients, he remarked that had he known how deep their attachment to him was he could not have faced this bidding adieu.

But it was not only by his patients that Dr. Callaway was trusted and beloved, his medical *confrères*

very highly esteemed his abilities and his character. In his practice he showed marked originality, and his prospect of success as a London physician was bright and assured. He kept up his medical reading, but a sense that his true vocation was in things spiritual seemed ever present to him. His Bible was always by his side, and very often the medical book was exchanged for some more congenial work of a religious character.

A man thus beloved, and with a mind actively engaged upon religious and intellectual subjects, could scarcely be unhappy, and it would be a mistake to suppose that even amidst the mental conflicts revealed in the following narrative he was not essentially happy. One morning in the Quaker period he remarked at breakfast, "I am miserable this morning"; but almost instantly added, "not unhappy—perfectly happy—but all out of sorts."

In reference to Callaway's connexion with the Society of Friends and what he has written on the subject, it is necessary to bear in mind that he derived his knowledge of their views almost entirely from the writings of the founders of the Society and their early followers. Scarcely any of these except Robert Barclay were highly educated men. The style of the period was very prolix, and it is not surprising if in their zeal to put forward one portion of truth they neglected to maintain other portions in due pro-

minence, or to so safeguard their expressions as to save others from drawing erroneous and unintended inferences from them.

Dr. Callaway was not unaware that the Quakers had come in modern times to modify the expression of their views, particularly under the influence of the writings of the saintly and scholarly Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham, Norwich, and in one place he qualifies some remarks on the views of Quakers by the addition "as they were understood by me." This is only fair, for assuredly Callaway's representation of them would be accepted by very few of the Quakers of the present day.

Dr. Callaway not unfrequently expressed his thoughts in verse. A few of these pieces are added in a supplement, for they indicate the bent of his mind at different dates in a way that is of interest.

CORNELIUS HANBURY.

RICHMOND, SURREY,
*October*, 1895.

# THE DEDICATION.

LORD ! myself to Thee I offer
For Thy work whate'er it be ;
E'en my all to Thee I proffer
To be used for only Thee.

But what are the words I'm saying ?
What is it that they imply ?
That from hence, without delaying,
All to Thee I'll sanctify ;

And will ever stand beside Thee
To confess Thy Holy Name ;
Though a scornful world deride me,
I will bear for Thee the shame ;

That no earthly love shall ever
Take away my heart from Thee ;
That the faithful hand shall sever
Every tie to set me free.

Free for Thee alone, and willing
To obey Thy every word,
Quick and earnest in fulfilling
All Thy will whenever heard.

Whether 'mid the sweet enjoyment
Of true friendship's happy hours ;
Whether in the grave employment
Of the intellectual powers ;

Whether when around is smiling
Ev'rything my heart to cheer,
And loved converse is beguiling
Ev'ry thought of anxious care ;

Whether sorrow shall oppress me,
And with grief my cup shall fill ;
Whether pain shall oft distress me,
I will be obedient still.

Nought shall keep me from obeying
All Thy will, whate'er it be,
And from hence, without delaying,
I will follow only Thee.

Here I will not seek a city,
Nor to 'stablish here a home ;
Filled with love and holy pity
Far my pilgrim feet shall roam.

I will follow Thine anointed,
Strait although the path may be ;
In the place Thou hast appointed,
There, O Lord, I wish to be.

Shall I fear the raging billow,
Or the desert far away,
Where's no place my head to pillow,
Nor a friend to be my stay ;

Where no loving heart shall cheer me,
Where no voice shall call me blest,
Where the prospect round is dreary,
Where the foot can find no rest ?

Shall I fear the heathen raging
Fierce against Thy Holy Will ?
Shall I dread their wrath engaging
To oppose Thy mercy still ?

Shall I fear their cruel anger,
When Thy Gospel Word I bear?
Shall I shrink from any danger,
If I can Thy Truth declare?

Ev'ry coward feeling perish
That would bid my heart to fear!
*Drooping*—Thou the soul wilt cherish,
*Burdened*—Thou the weight wilt bear.

Thou canst still the raging billow,
Wilds shall bloom where Thou hast blest,
Thy fond breast shall be my pillow,
Where the head shall sweetly rest.

Thou shalt be the Friend to cheer me;
Thou the blessing shalt bestow;
Then no desert can be dreary,
Nor the footsteps weary grow.

When the wildest tempests lower
Thou canst then the storm assuage;
So o'er men Thou hast the power
To restrain their fiercest rage.

Thou canst turn the heart of mortals;
Thou canst still the heathen's strife;
If they kill, they ope the portals
For Thy servants into Life.

Then myself to Thee I offer,
For Thy work, whate'er it be;
E'en my all to Thee I proffer,
To be used for only Thee.

Place upon the altar holy
The whole sacrifice entire,
In the Temple for Thy glory
Kindle sacrificial fire;

Let the sacred flame ascending
  Raise an incense to Thy throne,
From a heart for ever tending
  Upwards unto Thee alone.

1843.
(*Aged* 26.)

"What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shall know hereafter."

Why, Christian, dost thou seek to know
  The secrets of the Almighty mind?
When on the cloud thou seest His bow,
  Why wouldst thou look that cloud behind?

His faithful love—His mercy true—
  Doubtless beneath that cloud's concealed;
And all that's right for thee to know
  In His best time shall be revealed.

He knows thy need; and by-and-by
  Thou shalt behold, by faith's clear sight,
Enough thy soul to satisfy
  That He has ordered all things right.

Look on the past—His mighty power
  Has all along sustained thy soul;
Though He permitted storms to lower
  And raging billows round thee roll.

Then onward, Christian, onward still
  In confidence pursue thy way;
And fear not, though it be His will
  That darkness should prevail to-day.

Beneath that darkness Jesu's hand
  By thee unseen shall safely guide;
Then, though thou mayst not understand,
  To His all-gracious care confide.

1846.

"Look not mournfully on the past; it comes not back again: wisely improve the present; it is thine: go forth to meet the shadowy future without fear, and with a manly heart, trusting in thy God."—LONGFELLOW.

Bury the past in Penitence' deep grave,
  The burden of the past cast off for aye;
Thoughts of the past possess no power to save,
  Or chase the anguish of the heart away.

The sin once sinned can never be undone;
  The thought once thought has passed beyond thy power;
Griefs, tears, and sighings, cannot now atone
  For sins committed in the bygone hour.

Bury the past in thy Redeemer's grave,
  Nor visit there, without thy Lord, alone;
Only His grace the sin-stained soul can lave;—
  Only His blood the guilty past atone.

Bury the past! but should the Tempter's guile
  Strive to allure thee from the right to stray,
Visit the grave, and ponder there awhile,
  And wash the rising sin with tears away.

Stand by the grave of the repented past,
  Forgiven now by love all full and free;
And bid each sin, each failure, first and last,
  To speak once more its warning voice to thee.

Then gird thee for the present—it is thine;—
  Thine all its duties; thine its toil and care;
Thine to be strengthened by a strength divine,
  Those duties to perform, that toil to bear.

Live in the present; for the true and good
  Live by that Faith, which leans on God's own might;
So shall He daily give thee daily food,
  And each succeeding day shall rise with brighter light.

1863.

Who gives himself to Thee no loser is,
But infinitely adds unto his store ;
For what he gives to Thee Thou dost remake,
And, when remade, to him again restore,
And with the gift restored Thyself dost give ;
Thus he more self-possessed is than before—
Not only of a better self possessed,
He is possessed of Thee for evermore ;
Thou his, as he is Thine, for evermore.

1876.

## AN ACT OF PRAYER—NEW YEAR'S DAY.

Another Year has passed away,
I lift my heart to Thee to pray,
God Almighty.
I lift my heart to pray to Thee
That Thy bright spirit dwell with me
Throughout the now beginning year,
My present help, my constant cheer.
Give me the power myself to give,
My whole life for Thy glory live,
In Thee to think my every thought,
In Thee my every act be wrought,
My every word a word for Thee,
Thought, word and act, a ministry
Of love and truth, and holy trust,
All wise, all faithful, steadfast, just.
Grant that as now begun with prayer
So all throughout the coming year,
Through all its months and weeks and days
I may begin with prayer and end with joyous praise.

*January* 1*st*, 1878.

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# AFRICA
## SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI.
POLITICAL

SCALE—1 : 7,500,000 (120 Miles = 1 Inch).

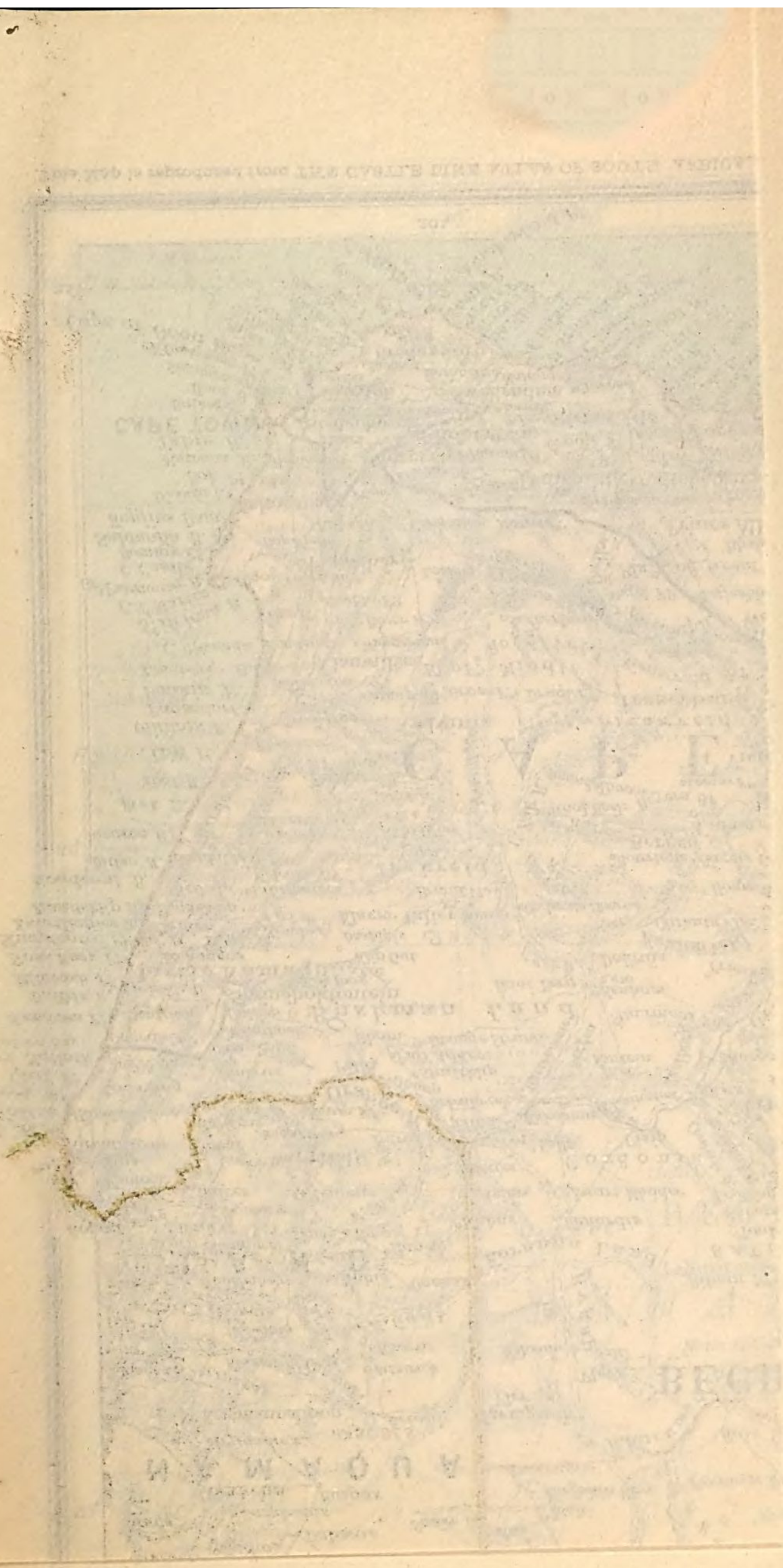
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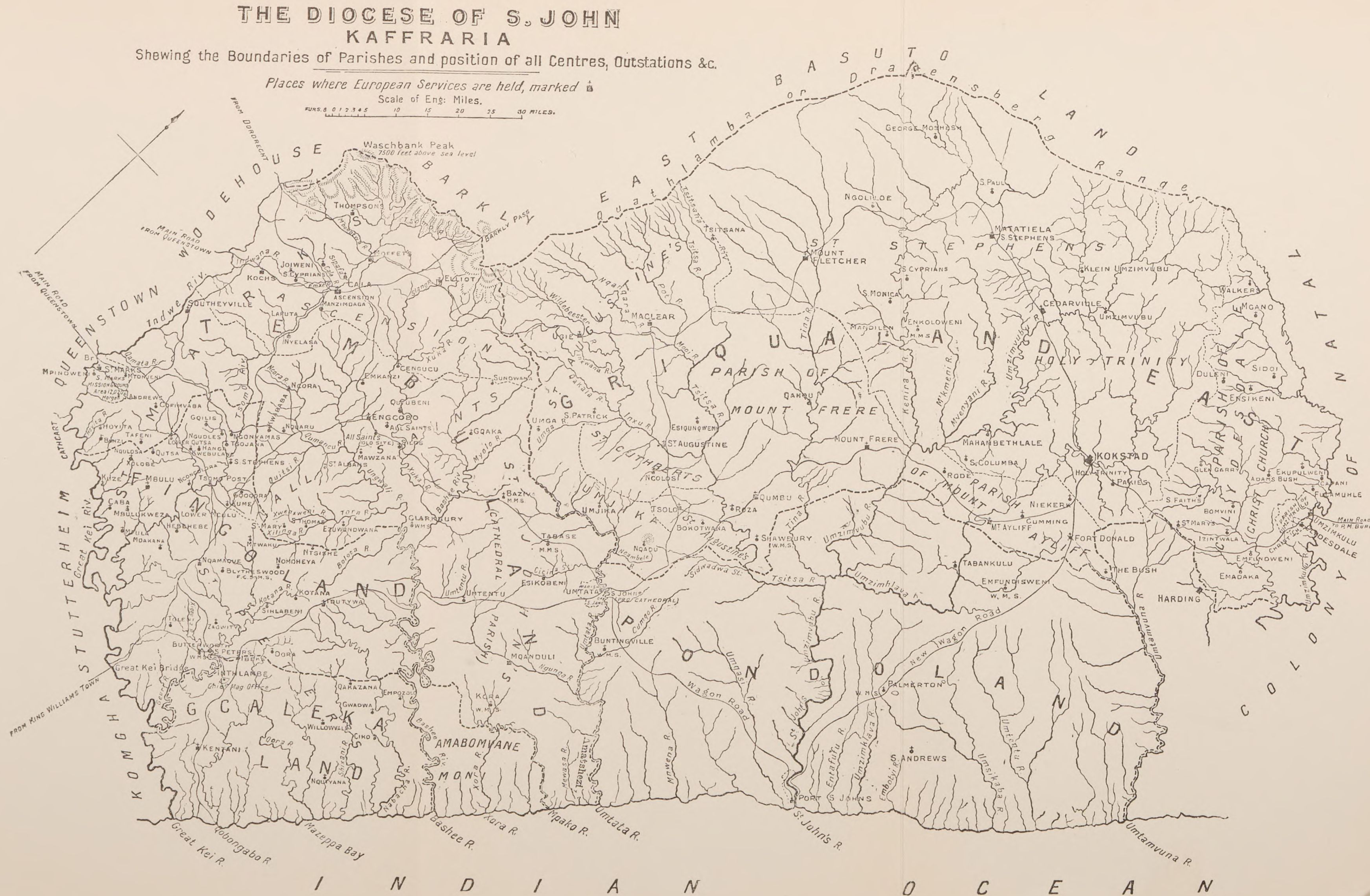
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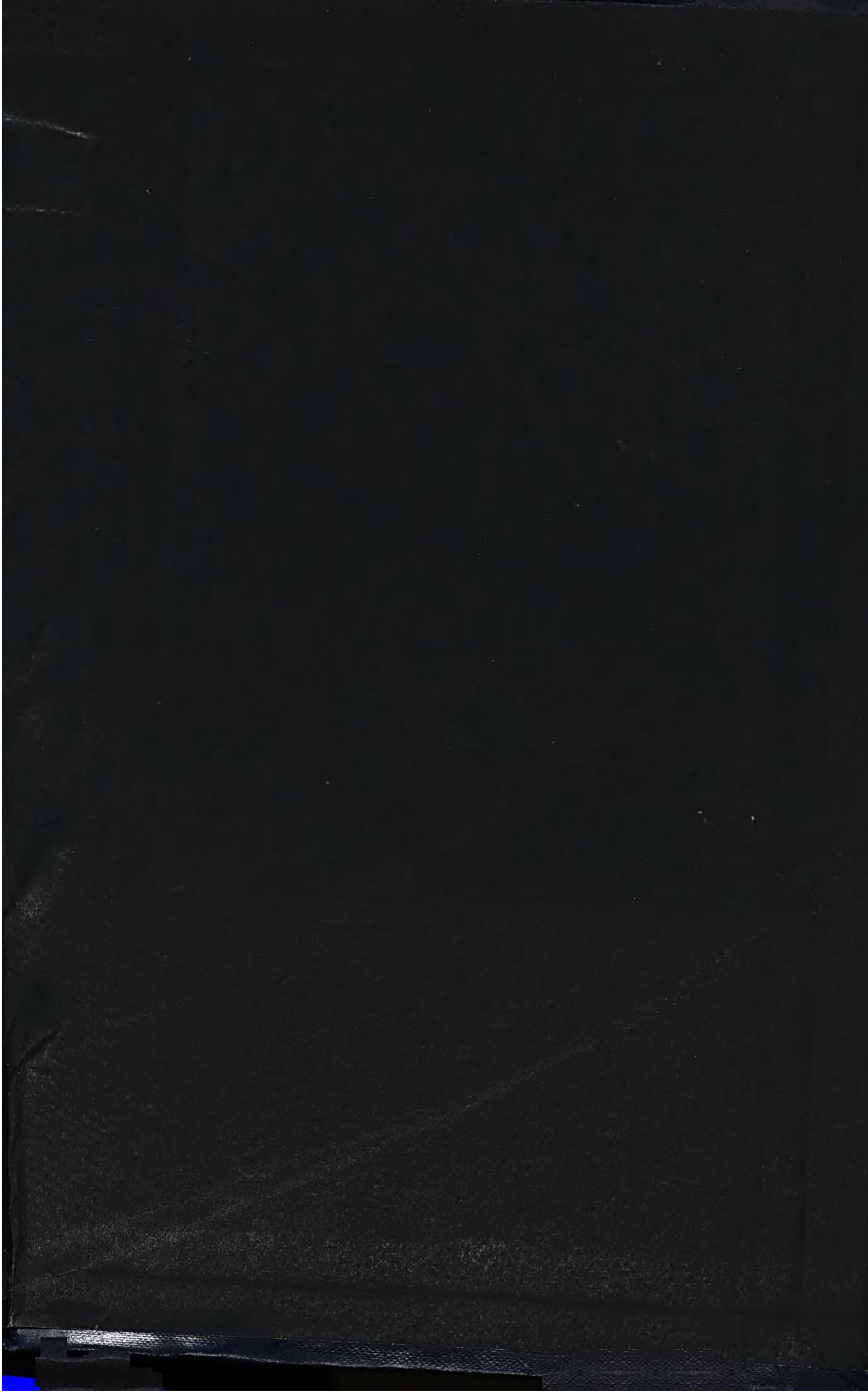
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СИВЕ ЈОКИЋ
СИВЕ
ВЕЋ


THE DIOCESE OF S. JOHN
KAFFRARIA
Shewing the Boundaries of Parishes and position of all Centres, Outstations &c.
Places where European Services are held, marked
Scale of Eng: Miles.
Waschbank Peak
7500 feet above sea level
BASUTO LAND
Drakensberg Range
WODEHOUSE
BARKLY
QUEENSTOWN
STUTTERHEIM
KOMGHA
TEMBULAND
FINGOLAND
GCALEKALAND
GRIQUALAND EAST
PONDOLAND
COLONY OF NATAL
AMABOMVANE
PARISH OF MOUNT FRERE
HOLY TRINITY
KOKSTAD
MACLEAR
MOUNT FLETCHER
MATATIELA
CEDARVILLE
UMTATA
ENGCOBO
BUTTERWORTH
PORT S. JOHNS
HARDING
ELLIOT
PALMERTON
S. ANDREWS
Great Kei R.
Bashee R.
Umtata R.
St. John's R.
Umtamvuna R.
Mazeppa Bay
INDIAN OCEAN

f





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MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Benham, Marian S.

Henry Callaway First bishop for Kaffraria. His life-history and work. A memoir. Ed. by Canon Benham

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